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The Canadian Historical Review

VOL. XXVII

TORONTO, MARCH, 1946

No. 1

DISBANDED AND DISCHARGED SOLDIERS IN CANADA PRIOR TO 1914

THE history of Canada is rich in examples of state intervention in the interests of disbanded soldiers. The story of these efforts to encourage the settlement of ex-soldiers throws light on the growth of responsible government, the decline in military feudalism, the changing land policy, and the influence of American practice.

New France was founded by men accustomed to a military pattern of command and obedience. The Jesuit missionaries in particular were soldiers of Christ—their discipline, severe modes of life, and ability to endure hardship deriving from a rule of life prepared by a soldier, Ignatius Loyola. New France was stamped with the military and feudal pattern of Royal France. The basis of the seigniorial tenure was essentially military. The "seigneur" was a leader in battle and the "censitaire" was obliged to render military service under his command.

The policy of Versailles went further, however. Soldiers were encouraged to settle in the colony and were not discharged but rather disbanded. They were not exonerated from further military service. The purpose was to strengthen the colony's defences by locating the soldiers where they could eventually grow their own food, and they were not encouraged to break away and seek their livelihood elsewhere as *coureurs de bois*.

The French system [wrote Parkman] favoured military efficiency. The Canadian population sprang in great part from soldiers, and was to the last systematically reinforced by disbanded soldiers. . . . The Canadian Government was essentially military. At its head was a soldier nobleman, often an old and able commander; and those beneath him caught his spirit and emulated his example. In spite of its political nothingness, in spite of poverty and hardship, and in spite even of trade, the upper stratum of Canadian society was animated by the pride and fire of that gallant noblesse which held war as its only worthy calling, and prized honour more than life. As for the *habitant*, the forest, lake and river were

his true school; and here, at least, he was an apt scholar . . . a willing fighter in time of need, often serving without pay, and receiving from government only his provisions and his canoe, he was more than ready at any time for any hardy enterprise; and in the forest warfare of skirmish and surprise there were few to match him.¹

The great Intendant, Jean Talon, was particularly active in encouraging disbanded soldiers to become settlers and till the soil. He favoured the forming of homes and families by granting bounties for that purpose. His matrimonial zeal did not exclude noblemen and officers. During the years 1665-8, six thousand livres were expended to aid the marriage of young gentlemen without means, and six thousand to enable four captains, three lieutenants, five ensigns, and a few minor officers to settle and marry in the colony.

During the autumn of 1672, from October 10 to November 8, Talon made about sixty grants of seigniories. He was not the originator but he may be stated to have been the organizer of seigniorial tenure in Canada, and he aimed to protect Canada by the creation of seigniorial establishments in the River Richelieu district. In 1665 Tracy had come to Canada with a full regiment of trained soldiers, the regiment of Carignan-Salières. When his expedition against the Indians had secured a term of peace, officers in the regiment were given grants along the Richelieu. So were established names well known today, Sorel, Chambly, Varennes, Contrecoeur, Saint-Ours. The plan was that these establishments were to become military colonies and the disbanded soldiers would form a barrier against future Indian raids. It may be said, therefore, that the framework of colonization in New France owed much to the encouragement given to disbanded soldiers to accept permanent settlement, even though the feudal plan to ensure the defence of the colony proved a disappointment to the French as much as later it was to prove a broken reed for General Carleton.

In the period prior to 1763 one important beginning took place when in 1753 Colonel Charles Lawrence transferred many German settlers to Merlinguesh (Milky Bay), Nova Scotia, with a number of regular soldiers and rangers who were placed compactly, drawing lots from a pack of playing cards.²

¹Francis Parkman, *The Old Régime in Canada: France and England in North America* (revised edition, Boston, 1920), part IV, 448-9.

²Adam Shortt and A. G. Doughty (eds.), "Canada and its Provinces." Part I, vol. XIII, *The Atlantic Provinces*, "Nova Scotia under English Rule, 1713-1775," by Archibald Macmillan (Toronto, 1914), 84.

When we reach the period after the capture of Quebec we find an increasing anxiety to settle ex-soldiers in Canada. The outstanding efforts are (a) the post-conquest settlement in Quebec by soldiers of Wolfe's armies; (b) the post-American Revolution movement to the Maritime Provinces, Lower and Upper Canada of ex-soldiers and of the United Empire Loyalist groups; (c) the immigration and settlement of veterans of the Napoleonic wars in Canada West, the Maritime Provinces, and the Selkirk colony; (d) the land grants to the veterans of the Red River and North West Rebellions, and South African War.

I

QUEBEC FROM THE CONQUEST TO THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

The new military governors of Quebec, Three Rivers, and Montreal after 1763 brought a degree of permanence into the occupation of troops and gradually many of those who had come to Canada with Wolfe remained. The scepticism with which General James Murray and his successor, General Carleton, regarded the English-speaking merchants tended to bring the military and the French-Canadian hierarchy closer together. There was considerable opportunity for settlement during the eleven years between 1763 and the passing of the Quebec Act (1774) which extended the boundaries of the Province of Quebec to the Ohio and Mississippi.

It is well, however, to keep in mind the character of the ruling military official society of the time in considering the attempt to settle the country with soldiers. The British army in the eighteenth century was made up of soldiers who were treated more like serfs than citizens under arms. Both the navy and the army reflected the attitude toward the lower orders then prevalent in civilian life, and the methods of army recruiting filled the ranks with some of the roughest types. The system of military discipline included the terrible and degrading torture of military floggings. There were also a number of troops of the mercenary type chiefly drafted from continental Europe, such as the Hessians of the American revolutionary period. An opinion of 1760 as to a proposal to settle soldiers in the Maritime Provinces is worth quoting as it throws a very clear light on the difficulties in the way of making soldiers into settlers:

In having your Lordships Commands to do so, I have carefully and as well as I am able, considered what Lands may be fit for accommodating disbanded

Officers and Soldiers—and I now lay before you a paper containing the names of such places as I conceive will be proper for such purpose. . . . But I fear the difficulty of forming them into Societies will be great; that the undertaking will be excessively expensive to the Crown; and that after all it will prove abortive for according to my ideals of the Military which I offer with all possible deference and submission, They are the least qualified from their occupation as Soldiers, of any men living to establish new Countrys, where they must encounter Difficulties, with which they are altogether unacquainted and I am rather convinced of it, as every Soldier that has come into this Province since the establishment of Halifax, has either quitted it or become a dram seller, upon the whole I am very much at a loss to point out to your Lordships, with any precision, any method of carrying such a design into effectual execution, either with advantage to the Disbanded Military or with Security to the Province.³

After the victory on the Plains of Abraham quite a few officers are listed as taking up seigniories. Captain Nairn and Captain Fraser founded two Murray Bay seigniories; Major Samuel Holland became Surveyor-General and Colonel Henry Caldwell Receiver-General, and both acquired seigniories. The 78th or Fraser Highlanders which had led the storming party to the Plains of Abraham was disbanded and many settled down eventually. The sons of some retired officers and privates of the Scottish regiments entered the fur trade of the North West Company; a notable example being Simon Fraser.⁴ Some went to the district later called Fraserville near Rivière du Loup and though at first they refused to wear any other dress than the kilt, and to the French appeared as the "Sauvages d'Ecosse," many of them became assimilated to the French-Canadian life and they and their descendants became French-speaking. However, there was little opportunity for disbanding of troops until the end of the American Revolution.

II

POST-AMERICAN REVOLUTION SETTLEMENT— UNITED EMPIRE LOYALIST MIGRATION

The migration of Loyalists from the Thirteen Colonies began at the beginning of the Revolution, and their settlement became permanent after the Treaty of Paris in 1783. When Howe withdrew from Boston in March, 1776, nearly a thousand Loyalists accompanied the army to Halifax. In western New York another stream wended its way northward to Canada. In July, 1778,

³Public Archives of Canada, vol. 64, Charles Lawrence to Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, Halifax, May 11, 1760, 147-50.

⁴W. S. Wallace, "Some Notes on Fraser's Highlanders" (*Canadian Historical Review*, XVIII, June, 1937, 131).

nearly a thousand Loyalist refugees were receiving relief from the government of Quebec. Many of the disbanded troops still retained their military organization just to go to Canada. In July, 1783, eight companies were organized as militia and embarked from New York for Canada. These immigrants wintered at Sorel and received lands in the following spring. Many of these were Hessians and ordinary regulars. Such units as the 2nd Battalion (Royal Regiment of New York), Butler's Corps or Jessup's Corps, 84th Regiment (Highlanders), 34th Regiment were included among the new settlers. The coming of the Loyalists and the development of settlement paved the way for the repeal of the Quebec Act and the passing of the Canada Act of 1791. This Act exempted from French seigniorial tenure any lands which might on petition be granted under English tenure, "called free and common soccage." Townships, as distinguished from seigniories, immediately began to be settled by English-speaking people all along the southern border of the province of what became Lower Canada. In the spring of 1784 eight townships were surveyed between the Bay of Quinté and the Ottawa, and in the spring of 1785 transportation from the camps of Machiche, Sorel, and St. Johns was commenced under the direction of the new superintendent, Sir John Johnson, many of whose men had followed him and settled throughout the Sorel district. The five townships immediately west of the seigniority of Longueuil were allotted to the men of Sir John's regiment, the first battalion of the King's Royal Regiment of New York. Many of these men were Scottish Highlanders of the Roman Catholic faith who had come from the Johnson estates in the Mohawk valley and whose impress on the County of Glengarry remains to this day. To the men of Jessup's Corps were allotted the remaining three townships. The five townships extending from Cataraqui westward were given to civilian Loyalists (many of Dutch or German extraction), to disbanded men of the second battalion of the Royal Regiment of Jessup's Corps, a detachment of Rogers's Rangers, a party of New York Loyalists, some disbanded regulars, and German mercenaries.⁵

A thin manuscript account book in the Public Archives at Ottawa marked "Memorials for Land Referred to the Land Committee by Order of His Excellency Major-General Clarke" records much of the foundation history of these townships.⁶ There was

⁵W. Stewart Wallace, *The United Empire Loyalists* (Toronto, 1922), 100.

⁶Shortt and Doughty, "Canada and Its Provinces." Part I, vol. XV, *The Province of Quebec*, "English Settlement in Quebec," by W. S. Lighthall, 148 et passim.

a rush of applications for large tracts in 1792 and 1793 by many of the officers of the Loyalist and other regiments. The principal scene of these settlements was the valley of the St. Francis River. Some of these applications indicate the type being considered. Joseph Moore, former lieutenant, 20th Regiment, prisoner-of-war under the Convention of Saratoga for four years was given 1,200 acres on the River St. Francis (1792). Barent Roorbach, formerly Captain in the first Battalion of General Oliver de Lancy's Corps of New York Loyalists and of Dutch extraction, asked for 3,000 acres on the north side of the River L'Assomption (1792). Major Thomas Bray, R.A., commanding at William Henry, had served since January 1, 1759, and asked for 5,000 acres (1792).

In 1803 the Reverend Alexander McDonnell, first Roman Catholic Bishop in Upper Canada, superintended settlement in Glengarry of the partly disbanded soldiers of the Glengarry Fencible Regiment with their families. The census taken in 1852 showed that there were no less than 3,228 McDonnells or McDonalds, and that members of thirty other clans numbered from fifty to five hundred and forty-five each. The Glengarry settlers fulfilled the hopes as to their availability for militia service, the Glengarry Light Infantry serving in the defence of York in April, 1813; while Colonel John Macdonell, A.D.C. to Sir Isaac Brock, died beside the hero of Upper Canada at Queenston Heights. During the Rebellion of 1837-8 the Glengarry Regiment rendered further service.

In Nova Scotia the influence of military settlement was important from its earliest days. The first settlers of Halifax in 1749 were British, many of them disbanded troops, too many, it is claimed, being the King's "bad bargains." A large migration of German Protestants had been directed to the Lunenburg district in the years immediately preceding the Seven Years' War.

The typical Georgian nobleman bringing grandeur and largesse to the rocky shores and cold winters of Canada was well exemplified in Edward, Duke of Kent, son of George III and father of Victoria. He and his regiment arrived in Quebec in August, 1791. With Madame St. Laurent he took up residence in Haldimand House, Montmorency Falls. After a short stay later in the West Indies in 1793 he eventually came to Halifax, in May, 1794. His home there, Prince's Lodge, became the typical eighteenth-century domain with a rotunda for a bandstand, Chinese pagodas, landscaped gardens, paths running through the woods, lovers' lanes, stables and forge, whilst the buildings provided a grand

dining-hall, library, and all the amenities for the life of a country gentleman. Many of the Loyalists and disbanded officers would have liked to set up such estates, but the conditions of pioneer life, in the Maritime Provinces especially, were rigorous.

The period of Loyalist expansion in New Brunswick (1783-1814), started with movements from New York to the St. John area and from Castine, Maine, to Passamaquoddy respectively. The best available lands were laid out in large blocks in Nova Scotia (which until 1784 included the present New Brunswick) and disbanded regiments or associations were assigned to particular blocks. The 74th Highlanders settled on the Digdeguash and St. Croix, and the 42nd Highlanders on the Upper Nashwaak.

In 1803 a regiment had been raised in New Brunswick called the New Brunswick Fencibles, gazetted as the 104th Regiment of the British line, and after service in the War of 1812, it was ordered to Canada, while a further home defence unit in New Brunswick was raised. At the close of the war both these regiments, together with the 8th and 98th British Regiments, were disbanded and offered lands in New Brunswick. By 1818 many of these ex-soldiers had settled on the St. John in the parishes of Wicklow, Kent, Andover, and Perth, and these new settlements were long known as military settlements. An attempted settlement in June, 1818, by the 90th Regiment on the portage between the Nashwaak and the Miramichi failed. In 1819 the West India Rangers were disbanded at Saint John and sixty of the members founded the Ranger settlement on the east side of the river above the Tobique.⁷

Some disbanded officers and men of Butler's Rangers and the King's Rangers found their way to Prince Edward Island and were active in inviting others, urging them to join them there.⁸ But there was much dissatisfaction with the delay and monopolistic practices adopted in allocation of land, as evidenced by the testimony of witnesses appended to the report of the Committee to be found in the *Journal* of the House of Assembly for 1833.⁹

⁷W. F. Ganong, "A Monograph of the Origins of Settlement in the Province of New Brunswick" (*Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, second series, X, 1904, sec. II, 54 ff., 83 ff.).

⁸W. H. Siebert and Florence E. Gilliam, "The Loyalists in Prince Edward Island" (*Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, third series, IV, 1910, sec. II, 109-17).

⁹Alexander B. Warburton, *A History of Prince Edward Island from its Discovery in 1534 until the Departure of Lieutenant-Governor Ready in A.D. 1831* (Saint John, 1923), 243, 359, 439, 572.

III

VETERANS OF THE NAPOLEONIC WAR
AND THE WAR OF 1812-14

The coming of the United Empire Loyalists caused the creation of Upper Canada. But prior to the War of 1812-14, Americans other than Loyalists had been coming to Canada in considerable numbers and during the war it had often been found that their sympathies were anti-British. It may be that they favoured a more democratic régime and that they distrusted the military and official aristocracy in the province. In June, 1814, Colonel Edward Baynes of the Glengarry Light Infantry, and for many years Adjutant-General of the forces, commented on the situation as follows:

In the Upper Province the population is very scanty, and with the exception of the Eastern District, are chiefly of American extraction. These settlers have been suffered to introduce themselves in such numbers that in most parts they form the majority, and in many, almost the sole population. A military force formed of such materials could be but little depended upon, and this has been generally exemplified in some of the most populous parts of the settlements where two-thirds of the inhabitants have absconded, abandoning valuable farms, and in repeated instances, have seduced and assisted the soldiers to accompany them. This impolitic system had been suffered to grow to such an extent that had it not been checked by the war, a few years would have rendered Upper Canada a complete American colony. Indeed, that had been so nearly accomplished on the important line of communication between Kingston and Cornwall, that had it not been for the counterpoise afforded by the loyal Scots settlers of that place, Stormont and Glengarry, it would have been impracticable to have preserved the communication with the Upper Province, and this intercourse once interrupted, it would have been impossible for the Upper Province to have long sustained itself, as it is well ascertained that the several predatory incursions of the enemy between Kingston and Brockville were perpetrated with the connivance and aid of settlers in that neighbourhood.¹⁰

In view of this it became the policy of the government to establish a loyal population and to introduce discharged soldiers among the civilian settlers. It was felt that they would operate as a leaven against any possible disloyalty and would furnish recruits for the militia in case of further danger. The Ottawa and Rideau Rivers became important as an avenue to the interior and efforts were therefore made to settle ex-service men in this area. Under a general order of December 6, 1814, the Prince Regent communicated his "gracious intention" of granting to disbanding soldiers locations of waste lands and Crown Reserves

¹⁰Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa, C. 621, 10.

in Canada.¹¹ In July, 1814, the following regulations illustrated the plan:

Each soldier is to be allowed one hundred acres of land, and is to receive his location from the Superintendent upon his being satisfied that the claimant is of the description and of the character to become a useful settler. He is to be placed on his land, the boundaries of which and the conditions of his grant are to be expressed in the ticket of location. It is to be clearly understood that the lands held under these grants cannot be alienated or disposed of until the grantee shall have resided upon and cultivated a reasonable proportion of the same for the space of three years.

Officers will be entitled to a ticket of location in the first instance for two hundred acres of land, upon condition that they cause a reasonable proportion of the same to be cultivated and do not dispose of it until three years after the date of the ticket.

Implements of husbandry and tools will also be supplied to them in sufficient quantities, and other comforts, according to the necessities of the individuals.

With a view to carry into full effect the intention of His Majesty's Government on this head, His Excellency has been pleased to appoint Alexander McDonnell to be Superintendent. His Excellency has also been pleased to appoint Lieutenant Angus McDonnell of the Glengarry Light Infantry Fencibles with the pay of 2s 6d army sterling per day, in addition to the full pay of his commission in the army, to be stationed at the depot at Cornwall, to receive and take charge of the settlers. This appointment to take place from the 25th ultimo and to continue until further orders.

Lieutenant McDonnell will proceed immediately to Cornwall and place himself under the orders of the Superintendent.

All applications on the part of the Claimants for lands in Upper Canada are to be made, until further notice, to the officer in charge of the depot at Cornwall.

Passages to the depot will be ordered on application at the office of the Quarter-Master-General for such of these men and their families as may have received their discharges in the Upper Province.

As a result of the arrangements, expenditures were made for opening roads and for provisioning, and soldier settlements during the summer of 1815 were established in the Townships of Oxford, Welford, Montague, and Marlborough. Some of the settlers would have preferred to be settled on Lake Ontario, but military authority had decided on the Rideau scheme and despite a great many difficulties it was proceeded with. Gradually settlers pushed on to Perth-on-the-Tay, and we hear once again not only of the Canadian Fencibles but of the De Meuron and De Watteville Regiments. These regiments have been frequently referred to as the "Foreign Legion." They were composed of a variety of nationalities including Germans, Poles, Belgians, and Italians. They had been taken by the British as prisoners-of-war in the wars

¹¹Andrew Haydon, *Pioneer Sketches in the District of Bathurst* (Toronto, 1925), 34-5.

of Napoleon and pressed into the service of England to fight against the United States in the War of 1812-14. They were to receive two months' advance pay from date of decision and discharge, and location tickets were to be granted in accordance with the following schedule:

	<i>Acres</i>
Lt-Col.....	1,200
Major.....	1,000
Captain.....	800
Subaltern.....	500
Sgt. Major and Quarter Master Sgt.....	300
Sgt.....	200
Private.....	100

The De Meuron Regiment appears in the history of the Selkirk colony. It was the hope of Lord Selkirk that they would assist in protecting the colony after the massacre of Seven Oaks. A band of ex-soldiers of the De Meuron and De Watteville Regiments with a few Glengarry Fencibles consisting of two captains, two lieutenants, several non-commissioned officers, and one hundred men became Selkirk's *engagés* and left for the colony in 1817.¹² They appear to have been succeeded by other small parties. These settlers were placed within sound of alarm in case of danger, the officers were near Fort Douglas, and a number of soldiers were placed on small plots of ground on the peninsula on which the fort was built and the rest on the east side of the river opposite. The De Meurons, however, were never quite happy in the Red River colony. As Professor A. S. Morton put it, they were independent and restless as professional soldiers turned farmers usually are, and they left the colony for the United States where they had a big share in the pioneering of Minnesota. There is a record of 243, including children, moving out of the colony, most of them to the south.¹³ Without individual initiative, hard drinkers, accustomed to idleness and given to brawling, the professional soldiers were poor material for an agricultural colony.¹⁴ The De Meurons lived true to form, and earned a sad reputation at the hands of the thrifty Scottish settlers, but this must not blind us to the real contribution which they made to the colony. A disturbance to its inner quiet, they maintained it in peace in the face of foes. But the British government did not then think of the Red River as an essential strategic area to be settled. Attention was focussed on the lake and river system of the east.

¹²A. S. Morton, *A History of the Canadian West to 1870-71* (Toronto, n.d.), 581.

¹³*Ibid.*, 664.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, 592.

In the early summer of 1818 the military authorities in Canada determined to demobilize the 99th Regiment of Foot, which comprised the older 99th and 100th Regiments, and which had been stationed at Quebec after having served in Wellington's Peninsular campaign and in Canada in the War of 1812-14. As a result of communications between Colonel Cockburn and Sir John Sherbrooke a new village was founded on the River Jaque which runs through the southern part of the Township of Goulbourn, a few miles from the Ottawa River. This was named after the Duke of Richmond. The men were given provisions to be drawn on requisitions and were brought up the Ottawa River to Richmond, landing where buildings were erected. Colonel G. T. Burke became secretary and storekeeper and other officers were appointed as clerks and issuers of stores, one Gerald Fitzgerald being designated as assistant issuer of stores at 2s. a day. Care appeared to be exercised as to provisioning but land grants were more prodigal, based on a schedule similar to that quoted above. Additional emoluments were free transport to the settlement for families as well as men and their small belongings, and a pension of from 6d. to 1s. per day as out-pensioners of Chelsea Hospital. Army rations for the first twelve months were also provided and the head of each family was entitled to receive: one axe, one broad axe, one mattock, one pickaxe, one spade, one shovel, one hoe, one scythe, one drawknife, one hammer, one handsaw, two scythe stones, two files, twelve panes of glass and one pound of putty, twelve pounds of wrought nails in three sizes, one camp kettle, one bed tick and blanket. To every five settlers there were allotted: one crosscut saw, one whipsaw, and one grindstone. For the use of the settlement generally two complete sets of carpenter's tools were given. Provision was also made for the supply of a schoolmaster and a clergyman of the Established Church, who should expect to come under the direction of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.¹⁵ There were some advantages in using the military organization in that there existed a system of provisioning and rationing and the surveys were conducted by military officers.

The Lanark settlement was also placed as an area for military settlers under the control of the quarter-master general's department and we find Lord Bathurst in 1821 writing the Canadian governor with regard to Scotch emigrants that they should be

¹⁵Haydon, *Pioneer Sketches in the District of Bathurst*, 64.

united to military settlements on the land and for the purpose of location placed at the disposal of the Commander of the Forces.

Thus the disbanded and discharged soldiers made their contribution to the development of Upper Canada. Military engineers assisted in the building of roads, and between Kingston and Ottawa there was built the Rideau Canal under Colonel By. This pattern of military settlement and the whole land grant system ran into difficulty, however. Throughout the nineteenth century opinion in Great Britain concentrated on economic questions. The Manchester School had little use for the monetary expenditure abroad, and immigration in the hungry forties began to reflect the famine difficulties in Ireland, and immigrants began to move not as groups but as individuals under laissez-faire conditions. Rapidly the expenditure on the garrisons in Canada became the subject of critical examination by the Colonial Office while the new settlers in Canada, preoccupied with the task of pioneering, displayed little interest in problems of defence. Throughout the difficult period of the Civil War in the United States, Canada relied almost entirely upon the protection of Great Britain. Colonel C. P. Stacey¹⁶ has traced the story of the years when the British Army provided the garrison in Canada and made clear the growing resentment in Britain against the expenditure. Both officers and men looked to Britain as home and there was little support for settlement in Canada in that period.¹⁷

IV

MILITARY COLONIZATION AND BRITISH COLUMBIA

One of the most striking examples of the influence of military methods and personnel is to be found in the history of British Columbia. Vancouver Island had been a colony under the authority of the Hudson's Bay Company between 1849 and 1856. Responsible government met its crisis in the gold-rush of the Cariboo. Prospectors poured into Victoria, and the government was confronted with the need of maintaining law and order and control of developments on the mainland. A request to the Colonial Office for a detachment of Royal Engineers was granted, and 165 officers and men were despatched to Vancouver Island. Most of them sailed on the *Thames City* which rounded Cape

¹⁶C. P. Stacey, *Canada and the British Army, 1846-1871* (London, 1936).

¹⁷Colonel Garnet Wolseley, *The Story of a Soldier's Life* (New York, 1903), 115-16.

Horn, the journey taking from October 10, 1858, to April 12, 1859. On board ship the newspaper known as *The Emigrant Soldier's Gazette and Cape Horn Chronical*¹⁸ indicated how wide these soldiers conceived their mission to be: "Our first business on our arrival will be to build houses for ourselves, then probably, as is the case in all places where Englishmen collect, will appear two or three grog shops, then a store or two, a Government House, a bank, a church, a burial-ground, an hotel, a jetty, and finally a street. In due time, too, we shall probably have a theatre, a library, waterworks, gasworks, docks, pavements, lamp-posts, omnibusses, and possibly even railroads and electric telegraphs the same as in any other civilized town in England." The article went on to say that they would be engaged in clearing land, building, draining, road-making, digging wells, building jetties, and for these activities they would need architects, clerks, surveyors, draughtsmen, and so forth. In an issue of the ship's newspaper of February 26, 1859, they envisaged a railway from Halifax to the Pacific coast along the north of Lake Superior, through the Red River Settlement, along the valley of the Saskatchewan and through British Columbia to the mouth of the Fraser River, thus bringing the journey from England down in their estimate to fourteen days. Their hopes were not vain since the record of the Royal Engineers is a notable one. Between 1859 and 1863 they conducted surveys, made maps, constructed roads, escorted gold shipments, established a land and works department, designed the first postage stamp and the first British Columbia coat-of-arms, published the first British Columbia *Gazette* (January, 1863), maintained law and order, set aside Stanley Park as a military reserve, and lived up to the Engineers' motto—*ubique quo fas et gloria ducunt*.¹⁹ When disbanded in October, 1863, they were made free grants of 150 acres of land to each discharged officer and man, and only about thirty returned to England, approximately 130 remaining in British Columbia. In 1861, not without some criticism, a proclamation by the Governor James Douglas remitted part of the purchase price of land in the case of officers, the remissions varying according to rank from £600 for a colonel to

¹⁸Public Archives of British Columbia, *The Emigrant Soldiers' Gazette and Cape Horn Chronicle*, MSS, October 16, 1858, April 12, 1859, no. 11.

¹⁹Lieutenant Colonel R. Wolfenden, I.S.O., V.D., "The Royal Engineers and their Work in British Columbia" (Paper read at Veterans' Association, Vancouver Island, November 22, 1900, reported in *Victoria Daily Colonist*). Public Archives of British Columbia, Further Papers relating to Affairs of British Columbia, part IV, 1859.

£200 for a subaltern.²⁰ These privileges were extended to combatant officers only, chaplains and civil officers attached to the army being expressly excluded. To qualify, applicants had to produce location tickets and certificates of *bona fide* settlement. In 1863, on account of the reduction in price of lands from £1 per acre to 4s. 2d. per acre, a second proclamation provided for grants of land using a similar differential scale, that is 600 acres for field officers to 200 acres for subalterns; all grants being restricted to country lands.

In 1879 Lieutenant Colonel Bland Strange, R.A.,²¹ urged in his report on the defences of the west coast "military colonization in the delta of the Fraser" and a railway terminus at its mouth.

In 1885²² when war with Russia threatened there was much activity in strengthening the garrison artillery. All these measures called attention to British Columbia and underlined the need for settlers. Few army men who came to the Pacific coast ever returned to Britain.

V

HOMESTEADS AS LAND GRANTS

Early land grants were based on military rank, and in many instances survey, allocation, and development were controlled by military engineers. By the last quarter of the nineteenth century, however, a change had taken place. The "beau ideal" of feudalism—the landed gentleman with rank, fortune, wide acres, servants, retainers, tenants—had disappeared. By 1870 imperial troops had been withdrawn from Canada and the Cardwell reforms had abolished the purchase system of promotion. The old land grant system which had given birth to the Family Compact in Upper Canada and to the gross inequalities in land tenure in Prince Edward Island and in the Maritime Provinces was not only discredited but its worst features had been attacked and modified. No one in Canada after Confederation could have argued for its revival in any form. With the settlement of the West the homestead system came in. Thus when land grants in the period after 1867 come to be examined they are found to

²⁰Public Archives of British Columbia, no. 32, Proclamation no. 3, 1861, by Governor James Douglas: Proclamation, 1863.

²¹Public Archives of British Columbia, Report by Lieutenant Colonel Bland Strange, R.A., Nov. 7, 1879.

²²Public Archives of British Columbia, Statement by Colonel E. Hunter Ogilvie as to formation of oldest Canadian militia unit—5th B.C. Regiment, C.G.A., October 12, 1883.

ignore rank and to adhere to the pattern of the homestead. These grants may be summarized briefly.

Land Grants to Veterans of the Red River Rebellion (1870). The Dominion government on April 25, 1871, by order-in-council²³ granted 160 acres to each veteran who could establish that he had served in His Majesty's forces in the Red River Rebellion. Later similar grants were made to those who had served in the Depot companies prior to 1875.

Land Grants to Veterans of the North West Rebellion (1885). In this case the Canadian government adopted a somewhat more generous basis for land grants and the grants consisted of 320 acres to each of those who served in His Majesty's forces during the Rebellion.²⁴ These land grants were later extended to the scouts and steamer crews.²⁵

Veterans of Fenian Raids (1865-6 and 1870). There does not appear to be any record of land grants by the Canadian government to those who were recruited to repel the Fenian raids. They were the recipients of silver medals. However, in 1906 the Ontario government granted Fenian raid veterans, who resided in Ontario at the date of their service in the forces, 160 acres each on proof of claim. In 1916 the Dominion government passed an Act granting a bounty of \$10,000 which made possible a gratuity of \$100 to be paid to each veteran.

South African War Veterans' Scrip. The tendencies toward larger holdings were promoted by several variations of the free homestead system. In 1908 the Volunteer Bounty Act (7-8 Edw. VII, c. 67) authorized the grant of two adjoining quarter sections of Dominion lands, without fee but with the usual homestead duties, to volunteers (including female nurses) in the South African War. Transferable scrip was issued by the Minister of the Interior on warrants issued by the Minister of Militia. The net result was a repetition of "military bounty" in its worst form. The date of location for the two adjoining quarter sections finally expired (3-4 Geo. V, c. 55), on October 31, 1913, but up to December 31, 1914, the grantee was authorized (2 Geo. V, c. 52, 1912), to receive \$500 in cash upon the surrender of his rights

²³The following orders-in-council were passed: 1st Expedition, 25 April, 1871, 2nd Expedition, 12 February, 1873—240/73; 3rd Expedition, 10 September, 1873, 1793/72; 4th Expedition, 30 April, 1873—1793/72, 5th Expedition, 20 May, 1875—L/1416/75; Invalided, 5 May, 1875—774/75; Invalided 28 September, 1875—L/2191/75. 49 Vic., c. 29, April, 1871.

²⁴Act 48-49 Vic., c. 73, July 3, 1885.

²⁵Act 49 Vic., c. 27.

under the Volunteer Bounty Act. The land grant thus degenerated into a cash bonus but the tendencies were confirmed toward the 320 acre homestead, and the speculator, as usual, prospered in the process. Of some 1,250,000 acres of South African scrip taken up in Saskatchewan, more than 90 per cent (1,199,853 acres) was patented—a tribute to the acquisitiveness of the speculator rather than to the pertinacity of the South African veteran. In Alberta the results were equally obvious. Of 1,063,360 acres granted, no less than 1,017,303, or nearly 96 per cent were duly patented. British Columbia having control of its natural resources also made land grants²⁶ to South African War veterans who had been resident in British Columbia prior to enlistment. The grant was 160 acres, and while there is little record of what happened to these grants, such record as exists confirms the view that many were promptly sold by the veterans, soon after the title was acquired. An act was also passed in British Columbia extending free miners' certificates, and providing for the reinstatement of lapsed claims held by members of the Canadian Contingent.

In the opening years of the twentieth century the pattern of British Army recruitment was developed on a basis of three years on full service, followed by a period, usually nine years, as reservists liable to call. No restriction was placed upon the movement of the reservists to the Dominions, and indeed in 1908 free passages were given to a number of men discharged from the Manchester regiment. There was, however, no reserve pay given except to the reservists who remained in the United Kingdom. The number of British Army discharged men and reservists who came to Canada prior to the Great War is not known, but there is no doubt that they were to be found on many homesteads, in railway construction gangs, in the North West Mounted Police, in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company, and in the logging camps. When war broke out in 1914 many of these flocked to the colours and were among the first 30,000 who sailed as the First Contingent. As a sample of the numbers who were available, there is the well-known story of the mobilization of the Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry—surely one that is without precedent in British history. Within ten days the call for recruits brought together, selected out of 3,000 applicants, 1,100 men, of whom 1,049 had served before and possessed 771 decorations or

²⁶Statutes of British Columbia, 1901, 1902, South African War Land Grant, C. 51 (May 11, 1901) and South African War Land Grant Act, 1901, amendment act 1902.

medals; half had seen war service and every regiment but one of the Regular Army was represented. Two sections were composed of ex-guardsmen, and two of ex-riflemen; 90 per cent were immigrants from the British Isles. Most of the "Originals" gave their lives in the earlier desperate battles of the war, few of them returned from France and Flanders to the Canada they had chosen as homeland for themselves and their families.²⁷

This short sketch raises some matters of great interest to the historian and to those charged with the civil re-establishment of veterans of the war just ended.

In view of the defence needs of the new colonies and of the need for an organized assault upon forest and frontier, the use of military formations in early settlement had some advantages. Civil administration throughout the eighteenth and first half of the nineteenth centuries was weak in map-reading, surveying, road-making, and engineering generally. Here the army could shine, but in selection of land for settlement it unfortunately used military strategic concepts rather than fertility, accessibility to markets, and such economic criteria. Group settlement under accepted leadership was, however, an almost necessary method with which to confront the hardships of pioneering in new land. There are advocates of group settlement deriving from a military pattern still.

While the framework of civil government was being formed there was something to be said for the discipline and public order maintained by the infiltration of soldiers still loyal to their officers. Nothing happens by sheer accident and the ability to muster soldiers in the Fenian Raids, the Red River Rebellion, North West Rebellion, the South African War, and then in twelve years again at the outbreak of the World War in 1914, bears testimony to a far livelier military tradition in Canada than appears on the surface.

Some of the practices and ways of life in the North-West of settlers, traders, trappers, and of the Hudson's Bay Company itself were borrowed from military manuals. The precision of "outfitting" and the discipline of canoe brigades are well known. Those who know the Métis settlers of today must often speculate as to the sources of their grandfathers' militancy in 1870 and 1885, but it is only necessary to recall the strict organization and

²⁷R. Hodder Williams, *Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry, 1914-19* (London, 1923), I, 10.

discipline of the buffalo hunts of the mid-nineteenth century to understand how quickly it was possible for Riel to get results. In 1840 the buffalo hunt took 1,210 Red River carts. The hunters were divided into groups of ten soldiers commanded by ten captains and helped by ten guides. The hunt moved in accordance with camp flag signals and no one was permitted to run buffalo before the signal. For the first breach of regulations the offender's saddle and bridle were cut up; a second offence brought the penalty of having his coat torn off; for a third offence the penalty was flogging. The killing of 2,500 buffalo and the packing of 375 bags of pemmican involved careful organization of both men and women. Such organization made a resort to arms in 1870 and 1885 somewhat more orderly than the scattered mob-like Rebellion of 1837. In the early history of Manitoba, military influences played a large part, while British Columbia owes much to the work of the Royal Engineers and a strong military tradition amongst its settlers.

The development of the homestead grant system was evidence of a changed attitude toward large land holdings and toward the senior officer class, as well as being a belated recognition of some responsibility for the ex-soldier. It also was part of the old illusion that land in itself was a source of wealth, and that it would prove a boon. The South African veterans shared this view and endeavoured to make the land grant in effect a bounty.

The gratuity idea had come to stay. Navy men are accustomed to prize money, and the idea of blood money, bonus, or bounty continued to influence re-establishment policy. But the private soldier discharged prior to 1914 was given little consideration. Pensions in respect of disability or death in the case of South African War veterans were small and were granted by the government of the United Kingdom. In the four years between 1914 and 1918, however, a revolution took place in Canadian thought on this question of the responsibility of the government in respect of the civil re-establishment of its ex-service men.

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REPRESENTATIVE ASSEMBLIES IN NEW FRANCE

IT has become the custom for Canadian historians, both French and English, to bemoan the lack of popular representation in the government of New France. But there has been one bright spot in the gloomy horizon, one evidence of an enlightened mind in the midst of official darkness—the famous “États Généraux,” called by Frontenac in 1672. In this, as in so many other aspects of French-Canadian history, it seems to have been Parkman who popularized the theory that Frontenac, cherishing “the tradition of faded liberties,” and looking “back with regret to the day when the three orders of the state, clergy, nobles and commons, had a place and a power in the direction of national affairs,” convoked at the Château St. Louis a semi-democratic and semi-representative assembly.¹ During the last half-century, the great majority of Canadian historians have adopted Parkman’s views. Even as late as 1942 we find Professor Long writing that had Frontenac’s plan of 1672 succeeded “New France would have become much more like the English colonies with their assemblies.”²

It is by no means certain, however, that this traditional view is the correct one, for when we study the documents of the period there grows up the suspicion that Frontenac’s États Généraux was neither as unique nor as democratic as many historians have believed.

In a country the size of New France, where there were abundant opportunities for law-breaking, it was obvious that a certain amount of co-operation had to be ensured from the leading men of the colony if there were to be peace, order, and prosperity. And while the principle that “What concerns all must be debated upon by all” could scarcely be described as a foundation stone of French-Canadian government, yet the practical truth behind it was easily recognized. Hence the practice of the governors of New France of convoking, at the Château St. Louis, assemblies of Canadian habitants to discuss current problems, to make suggestions, and to hear the plans of the home government. Even as early as 1657 d’Ailleboust called the chief men of the colony together to see what could be done about Indian disorders,³ and between 1672 and 1700

¹Francis Parkman, *Count Frontenac and New France under Louis XIV* (Boston, 1877), 17.

²Morden H. Long, *A History of the Canadian People* (Toronto, 1942), I, *New France*, 277.

³R. G. Thwaites (ed.), *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents* (73 vols., Cleveland, 1896-1901), XLIII, 61-71, Oct.-Nov., 1657, *Journal des Jesuites*.

there are records of at least seventeen such assemblies held in Quebec.⁴

None of these assemblies, or meetings, was in any way democratic or representative. Their members were chosen by the governor, not by the people. Each gathering was held for a specific purpose and had no connexion whatever with any that went before or after. If the same persons appeared at a large number of the gatherings it was not from any right, but simply because they were the leaders in the economic life of the colony and hence best fitted to give the governor advice and support. When they voiced an opinion, they spoke for themselves alone except in so far as their influence would be likely to sway those of lesser wealth and prestige.

Except in a very few respects, Frontenac's much extolled États Généraux of 1672 appears to have been little more than another example of this sort of assembly. Far from cherishing "the tradition of faded liberties," Frontenac was using a standard technique to reach a usual end. His orders, when he took up the governorship of New France, appear to have included, among other things, two very precise items. He was to exact the oath of allegiance from all the important inhabitants of the colony, and to explain why the king had been prevented, by wars in Europe, from sending the annual supplies for the fur trade.⁵ It was most natural that he should have used the old method of calling a meeting of the inhabitants as a means of carrying out his orders, and there is no evidence that he went beyond them. He exacted the oath of allegiance from all that came; he delivered a long harangue on the wonders and glories and the completely undeserved tribulations of King Louis XIV; and he dismissed the gathering.⁶ There is no record of any petitions or requests being presented by those in attendance. Apparently they did not even get around to expressing their opinions on the lack of trading goods. The contrast with the oft-petitioning, loud-arguing members of the assemblies in the English colonies is painfully striking.

As in the case of the other meetings, the members of the États Généraux were neither elected nor representative. Each man was

⁴Public Archives of Canada, Archives des Colonies, Series F3 (Moreau St. Mery), vol. II, part I, Oct. 20, 1676, Que., Procès Verbal, Duchesneau; vol. V, Feb. 16, 1678, Minutes of the Brandy Parliament; vol. VI, Nov. 4, 1684, Minutes of an Assembly re. trade; vol. VIII, part I, Sept. 23, 1699, Conférence re. trade—etc., etc.

⁵"Frontenac's Address to the États-Généraux, Oct. 23, 1672" (*Bulletin des Recherches Historiques*, XXXIII, 1927, 736).

⁶*Quebec Archives Report*, 1926-7 (Beauceville, 1927), 21, Nov. 2, 1672, Quebec, Frontenac to Minister; "Frontenac's Address to the États-Généraux, Oct. 23, 1672" (*Bulletin des Recherches Historiques*, XXXIII, 1927, 735-8).

ordered by the governor to appear, and when he did he spoke "chacun pour soi." It cannot even be argued with much support that in the États Généraux there was the nucleus of a permanent membership in those who came "ex officio"—for practically no one did. The intendant was not present, neither was the Jesuit superior, while members of the Sovereign Council came in their private, not their official capacity;⁷ they had already received the oath of allegiance as councillors. Only the syndic of Quebec was present as an official, and since the office he held was abolished within a few weeks of the meeting,⁸ Frontenac can scarcely have feared that the syndic of Quebec would claim a permanent place in future meetings. Why the syndics of Montreal and Three Rivers were not summoned, is a matter for conjecture. Possibly Frontenac knew that their offices would be allowed to continue and was taking no risks on there being certain men who might claim a right to attend his councils. But to argue this, we must assume that Frontenac intended to hold regular and connected meetings of the États Généraux. And for this supposition there does not seem to be the slightest evidence. Frontenac himself wrote: "Quand—j'avais séparé les habitants de ce pays en différentes classes pour leur faire prêter le serment de fidélité, je n'ai jamais prétendu en former des corps qui dussent subsister—mais seulement les distinguer pour cette fois parce qu'il aurait été difficile de faire autrement."⁹ It is true that this statement was part of the explanation and defence which Frontenac made to the minister of the king, and so may be somewhat discounted. But since there is no evidence to the contrary, and since only Frontenac could know what was in Frontenac's mind when the meeting was called, it seems reasonable to accept the statement at nearly its face-value.

Only in one respect did the États Généraux of 1672 differ from the other assemblies of the French régime in Canada, and that was in the matter of external organization. It is the outward form that has led so many historians to wrong conclusions on the inner nature of the États Généraux. For, instead of gathering all the members together as had always been done, Frontenac conceived the idea of dividing them up into groups on the model of the old French États Généraux. Into one group went members of the Quebec Seminary; into the second went the four lone members of the Canadian nobility, along with the seigneurs, the syndic and

⁷*Quebec Archives Report*, 1926-7, 21, Nov. 2, 1672, Que., Frontenac to Minister.

⁸*Ibid.*, 27, Nov. 13, 1673, Que., Frontenac to Colbert.

⁹*Ibid.*, 47, Nov. 13, 1673, Que., Frontenac to Colbert.

leading citizens of Quebec; into the third went the most important inhabitants of the colony.¹⁰ Why Frontenac took this unusual step seems reasonably clear. In the first place, it was for the sake of convenience. Exactly how many people in the colony had to take the oath of allegiance is uncertain. Frontenac's estimate of one thousand¹¹ is possibly exaggerated, since the total population of the colony was only a little over four thousand at the time.¹² All the same, the gathering must have been a large one and as the river was liable to freeze at any time, proceedings had to be rapid. It facilitated matters very considerably to have the large Assembly broken up into small groups for the purpose of receiving the oath.

In his letter home to the minister telling of the Assembly, Frontenac stressed the fact that there had been as much pomp and ceremony as he could possibly incorporate in the meeting. This has generally been laid to the vain, showy, and proud character of the Governor, who desired to enter upon his term of office with such *éclat* as the colony had never seen before.¹³ This was undoubtedly one reason why Frontenac adopted the old division into three estates and reproduced some of the old ceremonial. But may there not have been other reasons beyond Frontenac's desire to see himself as the king of New France? We must remember that he had a most unpleasant duty to perform. Only a small fraction of the goods needed for the Indian trade had arrived during the summer. If the Canadian traders were not openly indignant and disgusted by October, 1672, they were displaying the most unusual self-control. They not only needed explanations, they needed to be persuaded that the king's interest in Canada had not failed. How better could this be done than by the appearance of a powerful viceroy who recreated for them some of the splendour of Versailles? Why not give Frontenac credit for at least some sincerity when he wrote that the pomp and ceremony were put on "*afin d'imprimer d'avantage dans l'esprit des peuples le respect et la vénération qu'ils doivent avoir pour Sa Majesté*"?¹⁴ Moreover, if the faith of the French merchants needed bolstering, how much more did that of the Indians? And how much more susceptible were the redmen to the show that the Governor put on? Frontenac at all times showed

¹⁰*Ibid.*, 21, Nov. 2, 1672, Que., Frontenac to Minister.

¹¹*Ibid.*

¹²*Census of Canada, 1870-1* (Ottawa, 1873-8), IV, 2. In 1665 the population of New France was 3,215. There were at least 1,000 immigrants during the next seven years under the Talon administration.

¹³Parkman, *Frontenac and New France*, 17; C. W. Colby, *The Fighting Governor* (Toronto, 1915), 35-6.

¹⁴*Quebec Archives Report, 1926-7*, 21, Nov. 2, 1672, Que., Frontenac to Minister.

himself a clever hand at managing his Indian allies. It may be of some significance that a number of Indians arrived at Quebec shortly before the meeting of the Assembly, and were so deeply impressed by the ceremony which they saw, that they begged to be allowed to take the oath of allegiance themselves—a request which Frontenac magnanimously granted.¹⁵ Taken all in all, it seems highly probable that the creation of the three estates and the reproduction of ancient French ceremonies were dictated by utility and practical necessity, much more than by dreams of glory and nostalgic memories of a great tradition. Indeed the old interpretation seems scarcely possible. Fifty-four years had passed since the last États Généraux had met in France, and even in 1618 it had been an anaemic shadow of its former self. Was it likely that a soldier in the army of Louis XIV would have appreciated its one-time greatness? And, even had he appreciated it, would he have dared to revive it under a king whose despotic leanings were no state secret? We must not forget that Frontenac was undergoing his term of office in New France largely for the sake of advancement in old France. Was it likely that he would risk his position as Governor by reviving old privileges of the people? And even had he dared to do so, is it in character with the autocratic Frontenac that he should have voluntarily raised up a rival to his power?

Much capital has been made of the fact that Colbert, the king's great minister, alarmed at the sinister implications in what Frontenac had done, administered a stinging rebuke.¹⁶ It seems safe to say that if Colbert had actually been alarmed at the Canadian États Généraux, if he had actually felt that Frontenac was introducing into New France the dangerous leaven of democracy, it would have been the occasion for one of those vigorous tongue-lashings with which he occasionally favoured the Governor of New France.¹⁷ Conceivably it might even have cost Frontenac his position. But what did Colbert actually say? Sandwiched in among a large number of sage comments on the industry, agriculture, population, and church of New France came these mild words: "L'assemblée et la division que vous avez faites de tous les habitants du pais en trois ordres ou estats pour leur faire prester le serment de fidélité, pouvait produire un bon effect dans ce moment-là, mais il est bon que vous observiez que comme vous devez toujours

¹⁵*Ibid.*, 22, Nov. 2, 1672, Que., Frontenac to Minister.

¹⁶J. Delanglez, *Frontenac and the Jesuits* (Institute of Jesuit History Publications, Chicago, 1938, 7).

¹⁷*Quebec Archives Report*, 1926-7, 91-2, May 18, 1677, Sceaux, Colbert to Frontenac.

suivre dans le gouvernement et la conduite de ce pais-là les formes qui se pratiquent icy—vous ne debvez aussy donner que très rarement, et pour mieux dire jamais, cette forme au corps des habitants du dit pais."¹⁸ So lightly did Frontenac apparently think of the rebuke that, in the almost unending letter which he wrote in the following autumn, his explanation of the États Généraux occupied only a few lines towards the end, and far from being an abject apology, was merely a simple statement of the facts.¹⁹ Apparently, however, it was quite satisfactory, and the subject was never again mentioned in the official correspondence.

It seems reasonable therefore to conclude, that the true interpretation of the États Généraux is quite different from that which is traditionally given. Its membership was entirely unrepresentative, with the possible exception of the syndic of Quebec. It had no power either as an advisory or as a legislative body. Only in its size and external organization did it differ from the many other meetings of Canadian inhabitants, and in both these respects the hand of the Governor was guided by cold necessity, not by sentiment or devotion to the old traditions of France. To compare the États Généraux of 1672 with the representative assemblies of the English colonies, with their power of the purse, their lively debates, and their strong-handed actions, is worse than ridiculous. As a parliament, Frontenac's États Généraux of 1672 would have looked obsolete to an Englishman of the fourteenth century.

But if Frontenac's États Généraux was not even a flickering torch lighting the path towards representative government, there are signs that others in New France in the seventeenth century were beginning to think a little in terms of government by the people. It was as early as 1664 that an anonymous memorialist to the king put forward the proposition that Canada should be governed by a permanent viceroy appointed by the king, and that he should be advised and assisted by six residents of Canada, elected annually and freely by all the inhabitants of New France.²⁰ The proposal was, of course, shelved. It was made at a time when even the syndics, small though their power was, were going the way of all popular government when Louis XIV took over the reins of power.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, 25, June 13, 1673, Que., Minister to Frontenac.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, 47, Nov. 13, 1673, Que., Frontenac to Colbert. The entire letter stretches from page 26 to page 52.

²⁰Public Archives of Canada, Archives des Colonies, Series C11A, Correspondance Générale, vol. II, 155, Memoir on the affairs of Canada, anonymous.

Not until forty years later did another suggestion for a representative assembly emerge. This time, however, it came, not from an anonymous memorialist, but from one of the greatest of colonial intendants. It was in 1700 that Bochart de Champigny drew up a plan which he considered feasible and desirable, for remodeling the government of New France. In it, he recommended that a regular assembly should be held each year at Quebec. Its members should consist of the governor, the bishop, and the intendant, two representatives of the clerical Orders of the colony, two members of the Sovereign Council, one judge from each of the towns of Quebec, Three Rivers, and Montreal, and six elected representatives of the residents of New France. Of these, three would come from the district of Quebec, two from that of Montreal, and one from that of Three Rivers. This assembly would, according to Champigny, be given the right to debate all matters concerning the interests of the colony, reaching its decisions by majority vote, and, most amazing of all, it should control the levying and spending of all Canadian revenues.²¹

For the first and, as far as I can find out, the only time in the history of New France, a competent and influential official planned and recommended to the king, a form of government which really approached that of the English colonies to the south. There was the group of appointed officials and the group of elected representatives; there was the right of free debate and majority vote; and above all, there was the all-important power of the purse, that powerful instrument in the struggle for responsible government. It is only fair to point out, of course, that of the sixteen members of the assembly ten were to be appointed and only six popularly elected, so that if, on any vital issue, the official group had joined solidly together, they could easily have defeated the representatives of the people in a majority vote. But perhaps this was not as drastic as it might appear, for the official group was by no means certain to form a solid block. We must not forget that the members of the Sovereign Council and the judges of the colony were quite definitely the leading inhabitants of the colony, the most important men of the middle class, but by no means an entirely separate or bureaucratic class. If it came to a struggle against the French officials—governor, bishop, and intendant—the councillors and judges would be more than likely to adopt the Canadian and popular point of view. Since Champigny knew this, and knew too the opinions of Louis XIV, his proposal seems amazing. Even more

²¹*Ibid.*, vol. XVIII, Oct. 17, 1700, Que., Champigny to Minister.

surprising is the fact that he was neither sternly rebuked nor categorically refused. We are forced to conclude that, in the opinion of the Intendant, the colony would benefit, and the power and prestige of the king would be no less as a result of such a measure of independence and self-reliance.

The proposal was, however, never carried out. In 1702, Champigny fell ill and asked permission to return to France. The new Intendant, Beauharnois, while able and energetic, had not the knowledge, enthusiasm, or experience to put Champigny's plan into action. The king's ministers were not interested in constitutional developments in the colonies, for they were soldiers, not statesmen. Thus, under the pressure of unfavourable circumstances, Champigny's dream faded out. Yet, as the only comprehensive scheme for popular government ever produced by an official of New France, it deserves the attention of the historian. With a continuous membership, annual meetings, established rights, and the power of the purse, Champigny's assembly would have compared more closely with the English assemblies than any other plan or meeting of the inhabitants in Canada under the French régime. It, not Frontenac's États Généraux, was the flicker of democratic light in the autocratic darkness. Had it been carried out, it might have provided that political consciousness and tradition of self-government which the French-Canadian habitant so lamentably lacked.

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CUMBERLAND TOWNSHIP: A FOCAL POINT OF EARLY SETTLEMENT ON THE BAY OF FUNDY

IT is the destiny of certain places to be ingathering and distributing centres for a time, and then, because of changes in means of transportation or because of the opening up of new regions, to lose their focal importance. During the eighteenth century, Philadelphia was the principal receiving and distributing centre of population for the Atlantic seaboard, and it was only slowly, and with much difficulty, that New York forged ahead to supremacy in the nineteenth century. For the Bay of Fundy region, Cumberland Township on Chignecto Isthmus was such a centre from 1750 to 1783—the dates can be assigned quite definitely—and the story of how it became such a centre, of its functioning during the period of its supremacy, and of the way in which it lost its focal importance, is here set forth.

Port Royal—Annapolis—had been the first Bay of Fundy centre. It was from Port Royal that the various French settlements around the Bay of Fundy and its inlets were established, including the one at the head of the middle passage which the French called Beaubassin, and the English Cumberland Basin. This settlement was begun by Jacques Bourgeois shortly after 1671,¹ and granted as the Seigneury of Chignitou or Beaubassin to Michel le Neuf, Ecuyer, Sieur de la Vallière, on October 24, 1676.² Thanks to Vallière's energy and the fertility of the marshlands, this was the most successful seigneury in Acadie, and from 1738 to 1748 showed an annual increase of eleven per hundred inhabitants.³

The richness of the area was, however, only one factor in accounting for the stubbornness of the English attempt to capture the district, and of the French to retain it. The isthmus was a long used route of travel from the Gulf of St. Lawrence to the Bay of Fundy, familiar both to the Indians and the French. Furthermore, the area had a strategic value as offering the shortest possible front line for the opposing forces. In 1750, both sides moved to the isthmus—La Corne with the French forces, early in the year, to the hill of Beauséjour, west of the Misseguash, and Major Charles Lawrence, in September, to the ridge on the east—and both began fortifications. With the capture of Fort Beauséjour

¹Rameau de Saint-Père, *Une Colonie féodale* (2 vols., Paris, 1889), I, 168.

²W. F. Ganong, "Historic Sites in New Brunswick" (*Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, 1899, Section II, 315).

³Rameau, *Une Colonie féodale*, II, 77.

by the English in 1755, control of the region passed to the English, and when Louisbourg was taken in 1758, their possession was confirmed.

The captured fort was renamed Fort Cumberland; the other forts on the isthmus, the English Fort Lawrence and the fort on Baie Verte, called Gaspereau by the French and Monckton by the English after its surrender, were destroyed by order of the Council at Halifax.⁴ A considerable force was maintained at Fort Cumberland until 1768, when the soldiers were withdrawn from this and other forts in Nova Scotia to Halifax, and a small garrison thereafter.⁵ The existence of a large garrison at the fort from 1755 to 1768 meant that there were vessels plying to and from the region with troops destined for the garrison, with troops being relieved of duty, and with supplies. It meant also the existence of a commissariat for provisioning the garrison, and the appearance of the traditional camp followers, a sort of irregular commissariat, who supplied the soldiers with services and goods, not always of a desirable kind. The danger of raids by the French and Indians held back for three or four years any attempt at building or farming, except in the immediate vicinity of the fort. It may have been this danger, but it was probably the unaccustomedness and the menace of the tides which led to there being no desire on the part of the New Englanders who took part in the capture and the early garrisoning of the fort to take up land in the region.

The first manifestation of desire to settle is found in the grant of the Township of Cumberland, in 1759, to ninety-one individuals, with a supplementary grant the next year, in which nine other names were included. Two groups had joined in the application, one of persons connected with the fort but mostly with the commissariat, and a committee from Connecticut who came up to Nova Scotia in July, 1759.⁶ The two groups added the names, if not of their sisters, their cousins, and their aunts, at least of their brothers, their uncles, and their brothers-in-law. In addition, there were several names from Halifax, notably those of John Burbridge and William Best. The Connecticut settlers were deflected to Cornwallis, for the most part, apparently by the deliberate purpose of the administration at Halifax to have settlers in a more accessible region.⁷

⁴J. C. Webster, *The Forts of Chignecto* (Saint John, 1930), 71.

⁵*Ibid.*, 76.

⁶A. W. H. Eaton, *The History of Kings County* (Salem, Mass., 1910), 64-5.

⁷J. B. Brebner, *The Neutral Yankees of Nova Scotia* (New York, 1937), 60.

Only about twenty of the one hundred persons named in the 1759-60 grants were at Cumberland long enough to have their names in the second pair of grants, made in 1763 and 1764—a few of the Connecticut settlers and a larger number of officers in the regular army or persons connected with supplying the garrison.⁸ There were nearly as many names on the 1763-4 lists as on the previous grants, for the original grantees added the names of members of their families;⁹ there were a few more members of the garrison,¹⁰ new settlers from Massachusetts,¹¹ further arrivals resulting from the visit of the Connecticut committee,¹² and a few immigrants from the British Isles.¹³

It was the policy of the Nova Scotia Council at that time to make grants of 100,000 acres as townships. Cumberland Township included the Fort Cumberland and Fort Lawrence ridges, with the Misseguash River between, and extended to the River Aulac, west of Fort Cumberland, to the river La Planche eastward, and north-east to Baie Verte. Since its bounds by no means included all the land dyked by Vallière's industrious settlers, two other townships were laid out and granted in 1763, Sackville, west of the Aulac, to include the great marsh of the Tantrammar, and Amherst, east of the La Planche. The settlers for these districts were probably landed at Cumberland and distributed from there, and they

⁸The Connecticut settlers, chiefly Norwich names, were Ayer, Burnham, Fales, Fitch, Fillmore, Hunt, and Merrill. The garrison and commissariat group included William and John Allan, Halifax merchants of Scottish origin, William Bearsto, probably of Boston, head carpenter, Captain Benoni Danks, Jotham and Samuel Gay, traders, John Huston and his protégé, Brook Watson, Richard Jones of the 47th Regiment (Westmorland County Memorial no. 171, Crown Land Office, Fredericton), Captain Sennacherib Martyn, Henry McDonald, Abiel Richardson (formerly Innholder of Cambridge, who was drowned in 1765 on the way to his fish curing establishment on P.E.I., *Boston Evening Post*, March 24, 1766), Engineer Winckworth Tonge, and Joshua Winslow, Chief Commissariat Officer.

⁹Abiel Richardson, for instance, added the names of his two sons, Abiel Jr., and Godfrey, although they were only eleven and seven years old, and the name of his brother-in-law, Jesse Converse, who remained fifty years in the region.

¹⁰Lieutenant Thomas Dixon or Dickson, William How, whose father had been slain by the Indians in 1750 (Webster, *Fort of Chignecto*, 32), Daniel Goodwin or Gooden (said to be a native of Plymouth, England, who had been in Captain Adams's company from Newburyport) and his brother Enoch, Alexander Mills, who had been taken prisoner with Dickson, Martin Beck ("Martin Peck, der King's Paker, tam you," he is supposed to have said, according to the Steeves family tradition), and Samuel Wethered of Boston, who was connected with the commissariat.

¹¹Moses Barnes of Swansea, John and Jesse Bent of Milton, the Eddys from Sharon, the Gardners from Salem, Joseph Morse from Dedham, Zebulon Roe, perhaps from Newburyport, Gamaliel Smethurst and Ebenezer Storer, Boston merchants, Nehemiah Ward of Attleborough.

¹²Chappells of Lebanon, Simeon Chester of Groton, Amos Fuller of Lebanon, John and Hezekiah King, perhaps of Windsor, Simon Newcomb of Lebanon, Nathaniel Sheldon?, Josiah and Thomas Throop of Lebanon.

¹³Anthony Burke, Windsor Eager, of Dumfries, William Maxwell, William Milburn, Robert Whatley.

were joined in their new homes by former Cumberland settlers. By 1770, when returns of the state of the townships were made, there were nine or ten Cumberland families at Sackville, and four at Amherst.¹⁴

Nor was it only to the adjacent townships that Cumberland distributed population: after the setting up in 1765 of the townships of Hopewell, Hillsborough, and Monckton on Shepody Bay and the Petitcodiac River, Cumberland passed along settlers to all three, in some cases its own, in some cases Horton and Cornwallis settlers who paused briefly at Cumberland and then moved on.¹⁵

The censuses of 1767 and 1770 show a decline in the population of Cumberland from 334 to 322, but the 1770 returns are admittedly incomplete, and may have still other omissions. The shifts to Sackville and Amherst probably occurred before 1767, when enthusiasm for the new grants was high. The lists for 1770 show that nearly half of the 1763-4 grantees were still at Cumberland, and that members of their households had set up households of their own. There were not many newcomers; two Rhode Island families, an army officer, four or five old country men who may have been soldiers, and three or four families who may have been among the dissatisfied tenants who disappeared from Hopewell and Monckton.¹⁶

Unfortunately, there are no later returns similar to those of 1770, with names of the householders and the numbers in the household. For the next phase in the history of Cumberland Township—the coming of the Yorkshire immigrants in the years before the war, 1772 to 1774—it has been necessary to piece together the evidence from family histories,¹⁷ from deeds, and from *Memorials* in the Crown Land Office, Fredericton. At least fourteen families came to the area, some directly, some after a brief sojourn elsewhere, those of the name of Atkinson, Carter, Chapman, Dobson, Harper, Keillor, Lowerison, Scurr, Siddall, Trenholm, Trueman, Wells, Wood. At the same time, the Copps and perhaps other families moved over from Horton. With these additions, Cumberland Township must have seemed well on the way

¹⁴1934 Report, Public Archives of Nova Scotia (Halifax, 1935), 27, 33, 34, 47, 48.

¹⁵The Copps, for instance. See Samuel Copp Worthen's articles in *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record*, LXII, 350, and LXVIII, 34. For other instances, see E. C. Wright, *The Petitcodiac*, (Sackville, N. B., 1945), *passim*.

¹⁶The R. I. families were Hicks and Brownell, the officer, Edward Barron. John Ackley or Eckley, reported to be from Pennsylvania (*Maine Historical Magazine*, IX, 1894-5, 64-5), William Resty and wife listed as "Germans and other foreigners," John Leckhart, may have come from either Hopewell or Monckton.

¹⁷Howard Trueman, *The Isthmus of Chignecto* (Toronto, 1902), is particularly helpful, although the statements need checking occasionally.

to success, with an assured future; but already the storm was gathering which was, in the end, to wreck Cumberland's chances of remaining the principal port of the Bay of Fundy.

The first events in the Revolutionary War, the so-called Eddy Rebellion, which culminated in the attack on Fort Cumberland, and the harrying of the settlements by American privateers, seemed to accentuate the importance of Cumberland. The Royal Fencible Americans were sent to hold the fort and to man outposts, and settlers from the outlying districts¹⁸ moved to Cumberland within the protection of the fort. To balance this gain, however, there was a loss of population with the removal of some fourteen or fifteen Cumberland residents who found it expedient to withdraw after the unsuccessful attempt on Fort Cumberland.¹⁹

This outward movement, which probably would have occurred over a term of years but was hastened by the rebellion, was not the death blow to Cumberland Township: that came with the founding of Saint John and the division of Nova Scotia into two provinces. Had a larger body of Loyalists been sent to Cumberland, that district might have remained as the principal distributing centre on the Bay of Fundy, and might eventually have been selected as the capital of a single province, since its accessibility by water from the peninsular portion (the present Nova Scotia), the mainland portion (the present New Brunswick), and the island portions (Prince Edward Island and Cape Breton) would have been an irresistible argument in favour of such a choice, sufficient even to overcome the jealousy with which Halifax guarded its prerogatives. As it was, only one body of Loyalists, the Westchester Loyalists,²⁰ was

¹⁸The Lowerisons, Delesderniers, and perhaps others moved from Hillsborough at this time. See Wright, *The Petitcodiac*, 50.

¹⁹Jonathan Eddy listed the refugees (*Maine Historical Magazine*, IX, 1894-5, 64-5), who included the following from Cumberland, John Allan, Elijah Ayer, Obadiah Ayer, Anthony Burke, Simeon Chester, Parker Clarke, (Edward Cole?), Daniel Earl, John Eckley, Jonathan Eddy, (Atwood Fales, who had moved to Amherst), Ebenezer Gardner, William How, William Maxwell, Nathaniel Reynolds, Zebulon Roe, Josiah Throop. These were given grants in Maine, and also in Ohio. See C. M. Layton, "Canadian Refugee Lands in Ohio," *Canadian Historical Review*, XXIV, December, 1943, 380. (Why *Canadian* Refugee Lands? The names given are nearly all traceable to Nova Scotia townships, to which the term Canada did not apply in the eighteenth century. Did any of them settle on the Ohio lands? Most of them can be traced in Maine, but a few returned to Nova Scotia and New Brunswick.)

²⁰The Westchester Loyalists were a more or less organized group who operated in the area between the British and American armies and were largely concerned with getting supplies for the army in New York. They were called "cattle rustlers" by the Americans, who had a similar body. It was the proud boast of the Westchester Loyalists that they always took enough prisoners to be able to redeem their own men and to have some left over for bargaining purposes. They received grants at Ramsheg (Wallace) and Cobequid, but a few remained at Cumberland, Edgett, Hewson, Knapp, Palmer, Pugsley, Purdy, Teed, and spread westward rather than eastward as designated.

sent to Cumberland for distribution; the main body went to the mouth of the St. John River, where they found a hinterland, up the St. John River and its tributaries, of unexpected value and accessibility. The St. John River Loyalists insisted on the division of the province, which not only split Cumberland Township in two, but also cut in half the Bay of Fundy empire. Cumberland might have prevailed against Halifax only; against the two way pull, of Halifax and Saint John, it was helpless. After 1783, the area which had been the township (the larger half, west of the Missequash, went to New Brunswick, the smaller to Nova Scotia) received rather less incoming population than most areas in the two provinces, and distributed only the usual quota which went out from all such regions in the era of large families.

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AGRICULTURE IN LOWER CANADA, 1792-1815

THE War of the French Revolution broke out in April, 1792, only a few months after Lower Canada was organized, by virtue of the Canada Act, as a separate province with representative institutions. For the next twenty-three years, with the exception of the fourteen months of uneasy truce subsequent to the Peace of Amiens, Lower Canada reacted to the exigencies of armed conflict.

At the beginning of this period, the agriculture of the seigneuries in Lower Canada was still almost as backward economically and technologically as it had been prior to 1763. The fundamental reasons for this lack of progress were substantially the same after the British conquest as before; but they were not those sometimes set forth by historians. It is doubtful, for example, if the seigniorial tenure in the late eighteenth century or the early nineteenth century was really the handicap it is alleged to have been.¹ The fur trade certainly complicated the problems associated with the export of breadstuffs through the effects of its cyclical peaks and depressions on colonial finance, but it cannot properly be charged with ruining agriculture as an industry simply because it drew off young men from the parishes as voyageurs. If all of these youthful adventurers had been permanently lost, farming would have been little affected. Many of them did return, however, and it is reasonable to argue that, in consequence of the money they had saved, they contributed more to the development of their home communities by their service in the upper country than they would have done if they had never left their limits. A letter in the *Quebec Mercury* in 1810 stated that only about 2,000 young men were annually engaged as voyageurs, and that the parishes (mostly in the Montreal region) from which they were drawn were not the most retarded in Lower Canada, but the most advanced. The youths in many cases sought employment in the fur trade simply to accumulate capital wherewith to buy farms.² The fur trade, of course, did not otherwise encourage agriculture in the St. Lawrence valley during the late eighteenth century, because the traders in the interior either lived on the products of their hunting and fishing, or obtained their supplies mostly from the western settlements, such as that around Detroit. The lack of agricultural progress in

¹Cf. Robert Leslie Jones, "French-Canadian Agriculture in the St. Lawrence Valley, 1815-1850" (*Agricultural History*, XVI, 1942, 146).

²*Quebec Mercury*, May 14, 1810.

the old Province of Quebec is to be ascribed not to the seigneurial tenure, nor to the fur trade, nor even to the climate—unfavourable as it was to the growing of wheat and the cheap raising of livestock—but to two other hindrances, both unquestionable. One was the ingrained conservatism of the habitants, which publicists continued to lament long after the close of the period covered in this article.³ The importance of this factor can scarcely be overemphasized. The other significant hindrance was deficient markets. The French Canadians had no sizable local consuming population to which to sell their meat and breadstuffs, and they knew by experience that the demand for their grain in the ports of the Maritime Provinces, the West Indies, the British Isles, and the Iberian Peninsula was capricious. Naturally, therefore, they found no reason for keeping abreast of improvements in tillage methods or in livestock breeding. The anonymous author of *American Husbandry*, writing on the eve of the American Revolution, was one of the few who clearly recognized the relationship between the lack of a satisfactory market and the absence of growth in agricultural technique in the concessions along the St. Lawrence and the Richelieu.⁴

With cheap land sufficient for their needs and with no overmastering incentive to increase their production, the habitants practised the slovenly extensive cultivation characteristic of frontier regions. They would have been foolish, from the economic point of view, to do otherwise, despite the depreciation of British beholders.⁵ The methods of tillage pursued in the seigneuries at

³See Jones, "French-Canadian Agriculture," 148.

⁴"Let it be considered as an universal rule, that agriculture can no where be a profitable employment—or one that will even yield all the necessities of life—where the farmer has not a regular sale for every thing he raises; for if he possesses not this, he cannot with any advantage increase his cultivation, upon however small a scale it might have been before; nor can he without this scale command the money which is necessary for purchasing those things which his farm cannot produce. This is equally a fact, whether his product be wheat, tobacco, rice, or sugar. A regular market for all he raises is the soul of the farmer.

"This is the distinction that must ever be made; in those colonies that have a market for the farmer's productions, he may practice his business with profit. But in those that have it not, like Canada, he can only live; he cannot get money nor can he, if he increases his culture, gain proportionably the comforts or agreeableness of life" (*American Husbandry*, edited by Harry J. Carman, New York, 1939, 32).

⁵"European farmers are apt to judge of agricultural profits by the number of bushels derived from the acre; this, however, is an exceedingly fallacious criterion: the correct method is to estimate the labour expended, and then estimate the produce of that labour; and it will be found, as by experience I have learned, and could have discovered by reasoning, that a partial or less complete cultivation of a large number of acres, returns a much greater produce to the same labour than could be returned if the labour had been confined to a small number of acres. In the latter case, the farm would present a more thriving and striking appearance, and the crops of the farm would seem more

the end of the eighteenth century were thus described:

Their husbandry is very bad; the system is taking a crop and what they call a fallow, that is, they take a crop of wheat and after it leave the land at rest for a year, not for ploughing, but that the weeds may grow and be eaten off by the cattle: this method can arise from nothing but the plenty of land, for surely common sense might tell them that a field, answering the purpose of a meadow by the quantity of weeds on it, must be a strange preparation for corn. If they left it for ten or twelve years, till the grasses came so thick as to choak the weeds, it might, when ploughed up, become at once good corn land, as we find in many places is the case in England. In general they let the lands rest only one year, but some who have more land than the rest leave it sometimes for two, three, or four years, before they sow it again: white clover, by that time, comes in great plenty.

No crop gets more than one ploughing, which is in April, after the frost breaks; then all their sorts of corn are sown, wheat as well as the rest, consequently they have only a spring wheat: however, a few farmers have of late years got into the way of sowing the same grain in autumn; they do not thereby get an earlier harvest, but the grain is weightier and better, and the crop more abundant. As soon as the weather breaks, all the ploughs in Canada are at work to get in the corn, waiting very rarely, and but on small spaces of land, for carrying on the manure; and on one ploughing, which is performed with oxen or horses indiscriminately, they sow all sorts of grain and pulse.⁶

It should be added that the cultivation was exceedingly bad, for the ancient two-wheeled plough still used was so heavy and clumsy that it required the full power of one horse even to draw it over the ground.⁷

The habitants did not attempt to eliminate the obvious and easily remediable defects in their "old French system" of farming. They were satisfied with the rotation (if such it can be called) of cropping the land one year and permitting it to lie idle the next. They ordinarily wasted their farmyard manure by sleighing it on to the near-by river so that the spring flood would carry it off, but

abundant: his labour, however, would not be so well repaid. In Canada, the large quantity of land, in proportion to the number of the inhabitants, renders it unnecessary for the people to have recourse, except in peculiar cases, to inferior soils; and in no case is it necessary in the same degree as in England. The consequence thus is, that the high cultivation which in England we are compelled to pursue, is in Canada not only unnecessary, but would actually prove injurious to the farmer" ([Pierre de Sales Latour], *Political and Historical Account of Lower Canada*, London, 1830, 123-4).

⁶*American Husbandry*, edited by Carman, 16-17. The system above described underwent no change till after the middle of the nineteenth century. See Jones, "French-Canadian Agriculture," 140-1.

⁷Peter Kalm, *Travels into North America* (2nd ed., 1772), as translated in John Pinkerton, *General Collection of the Best and Most Interesting Voyages and Travels in All Parts of the World* (London, 1812), 609. The French-Canadian ploughs, as used in Illinois, were thus described: "It had not much iron about it. A small piece of iron was on the front part, covering the wood. . . . They had no coulter, and had a large wooden mouldboard. The handles were short and almost perpendicular; the beam was nearly straight, and rested on an axle supported by two small wheels; the wheels were low, and the beam was so fixed on the axle, with a chain, or rope of raw hide, that the plough could be placed deep or shallow in the ground. The wheel made the plough unsteady" (John Reynolds, *The Pioneer History of Illinois*, Belleville, Ill., 1852, 49).

if they did cart it into a field, they frequently did not bother to spread it.⁸ They introduced no new implements to supplant the kinds in use prior to the conquest, and they obtained no improved seeds.⁹

The crops they planted were, with one exception, those of the old régime. They grew as much wheat as they could use or sell; respectable quantities of oats for horse feed and of peas for soup, for pig feed, and to some extent for export; limited amounts of barley and of Indian corn; and a little tobacco and a little flax, both for domestic use. Beginning about the close of the American Revolutionary War, the local government, at the instigation of the authorities in London, attempted to encourage the production of hemp on a considerable scale. It offered bounties and medals, imported seed and implements from Great Britain, and hired agents to go through the countryside to tack up posters in the taverns explaining how to cultivate hemp and prepare it for market. All this trouble was in the end wasted, for no fibre came to be exported, and the habitants, as earlier, planted only enough hemp for bird-seed.¹⁰ However, after the conquest they did take to the raising of potatoes, which had been little grown in New France. "The English settlers could not remain long without their favourite root, and soon commenced planting it. The French, who before that time declared they could find no relish in that vegetable, no sooner found that a good market was to be obtained for it, than they immediately followed their example, and by degrees came to relish what they had before looked upon as poisonous."¹¹ Potatoes became a staple food of the habitants, and were also used to fatten livestock. The time came (1817) when a traveller between St. Johns and Montreal saw in the fields "more potatoes than I have noticed growing in the same distance any where in America."¹²

The livestock husbandry of the habitants, though far from ideal, was in advance of their field husbandry, and would indeed compare not unfavourably with that then prevailing throughout the northern United States, the Pennsylvania-Dutch settlements

⁸P. Campbell, *Travels in the Interior Inhabited Parts of North America in the Years 1791 and 1792* (edited by H. H. Langton, Toronto, 1937), 113-4.

⁹*Journal of the Legislative Assembly of Lower Canada, 1816*, Appendix E.

¹⁰John Lambert, *Travels Through Lower Canada, and the United States of North America, in the Years 1806, 1807, and 1808* (3 vols., London, 1810), I, 465, 467; Isaac Weld, *Travels through the States of North America, and the Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, during the Years 1795, 1796, and 1797* (4th ed., 2 vols., London, 1807), I, 377.

¹¹Lambert, *Travels through Lower Canada*, I, 98.

¹²John Palmer, *Journal of Travels in the United States of North America, and in Lower Canada, Performed in the Year 1817* (London, 1818), 209.

excepted. The idle arable land covered with thistles and wild mustard furnished poor forage, but the animals usually had the range of a woodlot and, at certain seasons, of natural pasturage along the rivers. From these riverain meadows, the habitants likewise obtained all their hay, but in most cases not enough to winter all their livestock. For this reason, and also because their stabling was typically restricted to one large barn, as soon as the frost set in they slaughtered the hogs and cattle they would need for meat during the next six months.¹³

Owing to the comparative isolation of Lower Canada during most of its early history, the livestock of the habitants was still, at the end of the eighteenth century, much more homogeneous than that in the United States, where the processes of intercolonial trade had served to bring about a nondescript blending. The razor-back-type hogs were little different from their ancestors introduced from Normandy over a century earlier, except in so far as environment and bad treatment had tended to eliminate the less hardy from generation to generation. They were, as they long continued to be, the most despised of the livestock of Lower Canada.¹⁴ The sheep of the habitants were similarly noted for their inferiority to their European counterparts. In 1749 Kalm had written that "the sheep degenerate here, after they are brought from France, and their progeny still more so. The want of food in winter is said to cause this degeneration."¹⁵ Sixty years later Lambert repeated the substance of this remark.¹⁶ The small black or red descendants of the cattle of Normandy were hardy and were good milkers, but throughout most of the year they appeared pot-bellied and raw-boned, because in the winter competition with the horses for the hay supply they always lost.¹⁷ The habitants pampered their horses but they can scarcely be censured for doing so. Till 1850 the French-Canadian horses were recognized as one of the finest breeds in North America. They were small, but they were strong and had plenty of bottom. "I have seen Horses of many nations," the traveller Campbell wrote in 1791, "but none in my opinion for common service equal to those of the Cameraskas in Lower Can-

¹³George Heriot, *Travels through the Canadas, Containing a Description of the Picturesque Scenery on Some of the Rivers and Lakes* (London, 1807), 58, 256; Lambert, *Travels through Lower Canada*, I, 78; Weld, *Travels through the States of North America*, I, 395.

¹⁴Lambert, *Travels through Lower Canada*, I, 143, 159.

¹⁵Kalm, *Travels into North America*, 662.

¹⁶Lambert, *Travels through Lower Canada*, I, 142-3.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, I, 142; Campbell, *Travels in the Interior*, 114.

ada."¹⁸ The complaints characteristic of the old régime to the effect that the habitants kept more horses than they needed for farm work or even for pleasure driving had become more infrequent as the American Revolution approached, because it could be claimed with truth that they were now to a considerable extent raising them for export. The market was furnished by American horse dealers who came into the old Province of Quebec with woollen goods, cheese, and other articles, which they bartered for horses. They drove the animals they obtained to the Connecticut ports of New Haven and New London, and thence shipped them to Jamaica and other West Indian sugar islands. This trade was resumed on the conclusion of the American Revolutionary War, and continued without interruption thereafter.¹⁹

The habitants comprised the overwhelming part of the population of Lower Canada in 1792, so that the agriculture of the province, considered as a whole, was that just described. There were, however, two other groups of farmers in Lower Canada at that time, both small in numbers to be sure, but both distinct in their agriculture from the French Canadians. One of these groups was found in the Eastern Townships, several counties, adjacent to Vermont and New Hampshire, with the English system of land tenure. It was made up of land speculators and squatters from northern New England, who began moving in as early as 1784, but who attracted little notice at Quebec—except from politicians who feared the consequences of American penetration—till shortly before the War of 1812. The agriculture of this group will be dealt with below. The other group was composed of the British farmers located in the vicinity of Quebec and Montreal, but especially on Montreal Island. These individuals purchased or rented from the seigneurs worn-out farms advantageously situated with reference to urban markets, and by applying a superior agricultural technique shortly renovated them. They cleared the foul land by means of naked summer fallows, they rotated their crops, they manured extensively, and by about 1815 were in some cases utilizing gypsum as a soil ameliorant. Their proximity to a consuming centre assured them a steady outlet for their livestock, vegetables,

¹⁸Campbell, *Travels in the Interior*, 114. The horses reared in Kamouraska and along the lower St. Lawrence generally were bigger than those reared near Quebec and farther west. "There is a larger breed about 90 miles below Quebec, which are generally bought up for heavy work." Lambert, *Travels through Lower Canada*, 1, 142.

¹⁹Marquis de Chastellux, *Travels in North America, in the Years 1780-81-82* (New York, 1828), 166-7, 167n.; Lieutenant-General Hunter to Anthony Merry, November 12, 1804, Public Archives of Canada, Letter Book, Military Secretary's Office, C 1212, 191. There was also a market in the new settlements of Upper Canada.

apples, and other productions, and so made their intensive farming profitable. Europeans who had just passed through French-Canadian parishes or who had visited the raw clearances of Upper Canada or of the newer American states were invariably deeply impressed by the neat and thriving appearance of the Montreal Island farms, and especially of those cultivated by Scotsmen.²⁰

Such, then, were the fundamental aspects of the agriculture of Lower Canada on the eve of the War of the French Revolution. The events of the next quarter of a century, needless to say, scarcely altered the farming routine of either habitant or English-speaking settler, but they did impinge on the development of the provincial economy.

From 1792 to 1807 the outstanding consequence in Lower Canada of the European wars was the expansion of the grain trade. There was a large demand for wheat in Great Britain in 1793, 1794, and 1795, owing to bad crops throughout Europe as well as to the handicaps imposed by the war on the normal channels of British supply. As a result, more flour and wheat were exported from the St. Lawrence during those years than ever before. The high prices offered by the agents of the Quebec and Montreal merchants encouraged the habitants to sell every bushel of grain they could spare. Lower Canada was in consequence so empty of breadstuffs that the bad crop of 1794 and the much worse one of 1795 both resulted in the imposition of temporary embargoes on the exportation of wheat, flour, and biscuit to destinations other than the British Isles and the British colonies. Slacker British demand and rather poor harvests were reflected in a reduction of exports from 1797 to 1799. Then, for three years, there was a rapid increase, attributable in part to a revival of British orders, in part to good harvests in Lower Canada, and in part to the fact that Upper Canada and north-eastern New York began to send their flour and grain overseas by way of Quebec, as Vermont had long been doing. Thereafter, incidentally, the statistics of exports from Quebec are of small value as an index of the agricultural progress of Lower Canada, owing to the mingling of articles produced outside the province with those produced inside it. However, in 1802, the

²⁰Campbell, *Travels in the Interior*, 118; James Flint, *Letters from America, Containing Observations on the Climate of the Western States, the Manners of the People, the Prospects of Emigrants, etc., etc.* (edited by R. G. Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, Cleveland, 1904), 326; C. F. Grece, *Facts and Observations Respecting Canada and the United States of America* (London, 1819), 101, 103, 106, 147.

The fishermen along the coast of the Gaspé peninsula who engaged in part-time farming formed an additional group, but one of negligible importance.

year of largest exportation before the end of the Napoleonic Wars, 28,300 barrels of flour and 1,010,033 bushels of wheat were shipped from Quebec. After 1802 the grain trade out of the St. Lawrence fell off, owing to lessened overseas demand and, beginning with 1805, to the ravages of the Hessian fly in Lower Canada. Till 1807 such Canadian wheat as did not go to the west of Scotland for blending with the soft local wheat was ordinarily disposed of in Portugal and Spain, though some was sent to Genoa and other Italian ports up to 1796 and occasionally thereafter. Canadian flour went mostly to the Maritime Provinces and the West Indies.²¹

The comparatively steady overseas outlet for grain after 1792 perceptibly though slowly wrought a change in habitation life. "The advanced prices which were then given for wheat and other grain tended to enrich the inhabitants," wrote Heriot, "and had an influence on the value of all the articles of life. Many of the Canadians, even at a distance from the capital, began, from that period, to lay aside their ancient costume, and to acquire a relish for the manufactures of Europe. This revolution in dress has not a little contributed to the encouragement of commerce."²²

The export grain trade was not wholly responsible for this transition of the economy of the seigneuries from a predominantly self-sufficing basis to one recognizably commercial. The growth of Quebec and Montreal fostered the establishment of breweries, and these provided a local market for barley. So little barley had been grown in the late eighteenth century that the first brewer at Quebec in the early eighteen-hundreds found it advisable to distribute seed gratis and to offer a bounty to those who grew it. Within a few years, however, enough barley was being produced around Quebec to keep several breweries going, and thereby even

²¹Weld, *Travels through the States of North America*, II, 7-8; *Canadian Archives Report for 1891* (Ottawa), xxxii; Hugh Gray, *Letters from Canada, Written during a Residence There in the Years 1806, 1807, and 1808* (London, 1809), 199-200; H. Y. Hind, and others, *Eighty Years' Progress of British North America* (Toronto, 1863), 56; Gerald S. Graham, *Sea Power and British North America, 1783-1820* (Cambridge, Mass., 1941), 131-4, 137-41, 284.

The returns of the number of bushels of wheat (including flour estimated as wheat at the rate of five bushels of wheat to a barrel of flour) exported from the St. Lawrence from 1793 to 1816 follow:

1793...	541,500	1799...	201,000	1805...	114,966	1811...	97,553
1794...	482,500	1800...	317,000	1806...	151,894	1812...	451,303
1795...	485,000	1801...	660,000	1807...	333,753	1813...	2,585
1796...	24,606	1802...	1,151,033	1808...	399,168	1814...	6,086
1797...	101,000	1803...	438,052	1809...	295,849	1815...	9,600
1798...	139,500	1804...	270,378	1810...	233,495	1816...	5,675

H. A. Innis, and A. R. M. Lower (editors), *Select Documents in Canadian Economic History 1783-1885* (Toronto, 1933), 265-6.

²²Heriot, *Travels through the Canadas*, 230.

to make possible the exportation of ale to the British West Indies.²³ The increase in the urban population likewise stimulated the habitants into grazing more cattle than theretofore (even though they never succeeded in finishing their scrawny steers to the standards the butchers sought to impose), as well as into fattening more wethers and swine and raising more hens, geese, and turkeys.²⁴ At the same time it led to a limited development of dairying. Some of the habitants made a peculiar cheese which they ripened in a manure pile. Many of the officers of the Quebec garrison were partial to it, in spite of the remark of Lambert that "I have frequently, on passing these cheeses, been obliged to hold my nose."²⁵ However, the production of this "stinking cheese" was small, and not enough of more ordinary kind was manufactured in Lower Canada to fill the rest of the local requirements, so that there was a deficiency which was satisfied, as it was earlier and long afterwards, by imports from the United States.²⁶ The butter commonly made by the habitants had few admirers, because it was characterized by a mustiness traceable to its being churned from cream left too long to set. Two localities did nevertheless have a reputation for superior butter. One was Ile Verte, a few miles below Rivière du Loup, and the other was Kamouraska.²⁷ Throughout the period from 1792 to 1812 the horses sold to the American "jockeys" who scoured the province brought additional cash to the habitants, as did the few exported by sea to the West Indies.²⁸

If the wishes of the British government had prevailed, the habitants would have had still another source of income in hemp. Though, as already mentioned, the attempt to promote the growing of hemp in the old Province of Quebec had been a failure, the Board of Trade revived its colonial hemp-raising programme at the end of the eighteenth century, in the hope that enough fibre would be produced to prevent the mother country from running into a serious shortage of rigging if trouble with the Scandinavian neutrals resulted in an interruption of communications with the Baltic. In

²³Gray, *Letters from Canada*, 204; Lambert, *Travels through Lower Canada*, I, 102, 472.

²⁴*Ibid.*, I, 75, 82, 437; Heriot, *Travels through the Canadas*, 53; *Quebec Mercury*, September 9, 1811.

²⁵Lambert, *Travels through Lower Canada*, I, 86.

²⁶*Ibid.*, I, 106.

²⁷*Ibid.*, I, 86; *Quebec Mercury*, January 2, 1809. Kamouraska butter kept its reputation, incidentally, till the advent of the railways, after which time it steadily deteriorated in value and popularity. Laterrière, *Political and Historical Account of Lower Canada*, 128; Joseph Bouchette, *The British Dominions in North America* (2 vols., London, 1831), I, 317; *The Illustrated Journal of Agriculture* (Montreal), May, 1879, 2.

²⁸Gray, *Letters from Canada*, 170, 172; *Quebec Mercury*, April 11, 1808; Lambert, *Travels through Lower Canada*, I, 143-4.

1800 the Board again sent out machines and instructions to Lower Canada, as well as to Upper Canada and other parts of the Empire. Nor was local co-operation lacking. Various Lower Canadian societies offered premiums, and the legislature granted (1802) £1,200 currency to be expended in encouraging hemp growing among the habitants. Once again nothing came of the effort. It was stated at the time that one important reason lay in the opposition, open and covert, of the wheat merchants, who desired the habitants to keep on with wheat as their staple. But this, if true, as it probably was, was not the only explanation, nor even the most important one. The fact was that Lower Canadian hemp could compete in neither price nor quality with Russian hemp, which till 1807, in spite of fears, was usually available to the royal dockyards. In 1807 the Czar, in the alliance he made with Napoleon supplementary to the Treaty of Tilsit, agreed to close his ports to British shipping. The rise in the price of colonial hemp which followed in no wise benefitted the very few habitants and farmers who had been experimenting with the crop, for the timber trade, rapidly expanding in response to the need of the navy for pine and oak (likewise a consequence of the agreement at Tilsit), absorbed all the common labourers indispensable to their success. After 1808 a few theorists continued to advocate the growing of hemp, but practical men abandoned the industry.²⁹

An era of feverish prosperity in Lower Canada began when the United States Congress passed Jefferson's Embargo (December, 1807), and lasted till after it repealed the Non-Intercourse Act (May, 1810). American productions theretofore marketed at the seaports of New England and the Middle States spilled into the interdicted northern route *via* Lake Champlain and Montreal. Backwoodsmen with potash, storekeepers and farmers with pork, cheese, butter, flour, and grain, and drovers with cattle alike defied the American customs officers and militiamen sent to stop their illegal activities.³⁰ They did so in part because they were compelled by necessity (or what they considered necessity), but the high prices they received afforded a positive incentive. So steady was the demand in the British Isles for breadstuffs and provisions, and

²⁹*Ibid.*, I, 467-8; *Canadian Archives Report for 1892*, xxii-xxiv; Grece, *Facts and Observations*, 122. For a more detailed account of the growing of hemp in Lower Canada during this period, see Norman Macdonald, "Hemp and Imperial Defence" (*Canadian Historical Review*, XVII, 1936, 388-98).

³⁰John Henry to H. W. Ryland, March 2, March 10, 1808, *Canadian Archives Report for 1896*, 38, 39; Edward A. Kendall, *Travels through the Northern Parts of the United States in the Years 1807 and 1808* (3 vols., New York, 1809), III, 244, 277; *Quebec Mercury*, June 6, July 11, 1808.

so extraordinary that for potash, that in 1808, 1809, and 1810 the exports from the St. Lawrence of the leading agricultural commodities in most cases greatly exceeded those of 1807, which was about an average year.³¹ Moreover, the new timber industry of Lower Canada, eastern Upper Canada, north-western Vermont, and north-eastern New York employed not only immigrants but most of the casual labourers of the province, and so both reduced the number of men dependent on agriculture and added to the consuming population. Montreal and Quebec merchants and ship-pers became wealthy from the American and provincial trade, and with steadily advancing prices for provisions for home and foreign use, the Lower Canadian farmers and habitants who stayed on the land prospered.³²

While the merchants and agriculturists benefitted from the good times of the Embargo and Non-Intercourse period, the inhabitants of Quebec suffered, partly from the general rise in the cost of living, and partly from an actual shortage of fresh meat. The latter difficulty was attributed to the failure of the habitants of the region adjacent to the city to keep the markets supplied. They made no attempt, it was said, to increase their stock of cattle. Their conservatism and lack of foresight accounted for this situation to some degree, but the main cause was that the butchers around Quebec persuaded them to sell so many of their cattle that they were left without enough to breed from. In some parishes there were not even enough oxen remaining to till the land. The result was that good beef, which sold at Quebec in 1808 for 3*d.* and 4*d.*, brought 7½*d.* by 1810.³³ Governor Sir James Craig was convinced that the best remedy would be to open a road southward from Quebec, along a route surveyed in 1800, to tap new sources of supply in the Eastern Townships and the frontier settlements of

³¹The exports of the leading agricultural products from the port of Quebec for 1807, 1808, 1809, and 1810 follow:

	1807	1808	1809	1810
Wheat (bushels).....	234,543	186,707	198,221	170,860
Flour (barrels).....	20,442	41,626	19,467	12,519
Biscuits (quintals).....	28,047	32,587	32,915	16,467
Peas (bushels).....	7,181	52,934	54,347	18,928
Pork (barrels).....	1,151	2,011	2,783	4,632
Beef (barrels).....	39	1,509	1,766	2,983
Butter (firkins).....	c. 400	2,600	2,294	422
Ashes (cwt.).....	46,948	107,652	108,724	106,584

Quebec Mercury, May 9, 1808; *ibid.*, February 6, 1809; *ibid.*, January 22, 1810; *ibid.*, January 14, 1811.

³²Lambert, *Travels through Lower Canada*, I, 234. A few prices current of wheat and flour at Quebec for the years 1805, 1808, 1809, 1810, 1811, 1812, and 1813 are given in Innis and Lower, *Select Documents in Canadian Economic History*, 284-5.

³³*Quebec Mercury*, September 9, 1811.

Vermont and New Hampshire. This Craig Road was completed from St. Giles to Shipton, at least so that it became suitable for sleighing, in the autumn of 1810. In consequence, the length of time required for a journey from Boston to Quebec was reduced to four days. More to the point, consumers at Quebec could now hope that American and Eastern Townships competition in meat and livestock would reduce prices, which were still excessive. The road not only gave promise of ameliorating the meat situation at Quebec, but brought the Eastern Townships for the first time into a solid commercial and agricultural relationship with the parishes along the St. Lawrence.³⁴

The Eastern Townships had been slowly settling for upwards of twenty years, but because there was a wilderness a hundred miles wide between them and the communities in the St. Lawrence valley, they had been shunned by French Canadians and British immigrants, and so came to be occupied by New Englanders who preserved their associations with their friends to the south and did not try to establish new ones to the north. "At present," Sir James Craig asserted in 1810, "all that tract is as little connected with us as if it did not belong to us."³⁵ So remote and so isolated were the clearances in the Townships that there were few people at Quebec, except possibly the land speculators who had dealings with "leaders" and "associates," who had any precise knowledge about their development. John Lambert's careful description of the agricultural and social conditions in Lower Canada in 1806-8 is almost blank as far as the Eastern Townships are concerned. "Americans from the States," he did manage to write, "set themselves down with very little ceremony, upon the different townships bordering on their country, and begin to clear the woods, and cultivate the land, often without the knowledge or consent of its proprietors. . . . They are certainly enterprising settlers, and improve the country more in two or three years, than the French Canadians do in a century."³⁶

Inasmuch as the Eastern Townships were in the beginning a mere appendage of the parent communities along Lake Champlain and in the upper Connecticut valley, the agricultural practices prevailing north of the border were identical with those prevailing south of it. The inhabitants of both regions were frontier farmers

³⁴*Ibid.*, November 5, 1810; Sir James Craig to H. W. Ryland, August 6, 1810, in Robert Christie, *History of the Late Province of Lower Canada* (6 vols., Montreal, 1866), VI, 129-30.

³⁵Craig to Ryland, August 6, 1810, in Christie, *History of Lower Canada*, VI, 129.

³⁶Lambert, *Travels through Lower Canada*, I, 141-2.

who cut down and burned the trees in their slashings to make potash, raised cattle and horses which could be driven to market, kept a few sheep, packed some pork and manufactured a little cheese, and grew enough rye, barley, and wheat for their own use and even a small quantity of wheat for export. In contrast to the French Canadians, they made Indian corn almost a staple crop, though, on account of late and early frosts and frequent wet summers, it was by no means dependable. Usually, too, they had apple orchards.³⁷

Till after the War of 1812, the pioneers in the Eastern Townships found it difficult to trade with Montreal and Quebec. Those on the eastern side of Missisquoi Bay who shipped their produce by way of Lake Champlain to St. Johns had to contend with vexatious restrictions imposed by the American customs officers. Those farther east, near Lake Memphremagog, learned that though it was possible to send flour and potash down the St. Francis River to Quebec, it was expensive and dangerous to do so, on account of the rapids. There were no roads other than winter trails out of the Townships in the direction of Quebec, Three Rivers, or Montreal till 1810, and after 1810 none except the Craig Road.³⁸

Shut off from the St. Lawrence, and with what amounted to a free-trade frontier to the south, the Eastern Townships in ordinary times shared the markets in the United States of northern Vermont and northern New Hampshire. The settlements near Missisquoi Bay had ready access to the road which ran south through Burlington, and those near Lake Memphremagog to the roads leading to the Connecticut River. During the last decade of the eighteenth century and the first few years of the nineteenth, the residents of the country east, north, and west of the Green Mountains sold their fat cattle to drovers who took them to Boston or New York, and their horses to the dealers who visited the French-Canadian seigneuries, or to others like them. The farmers and storekeepers east and north of the Green Mountains themselves transported other salable products southward to the head of navigation on the Connecticut River, or even on to Boston or some of its New Eng-

³⁷Charles Stewart, *A Short View of the Present State of the Eastern Townships in the Province of Lower Canada, Bordering on the Line 45°* (Montreal, 1815), 4-6; Lewis D. Stilwell, "Migration from Vermont (1776-1860)" (*Proceedings of the Vermont Historical Society*, new series, V, 1937, 98-101).

³⁸Stewart, *A Short View*, 11-12; Joseph Bouchette, *Topographical Description of the Province of Lower Canada, with Remarks upon Upper Canada, and on the Relative Connexion of Both Provinces with the United States of America* (London, 1815), 187-8, 321.

land rivals.³⁹ The opening of a turnpike through Crawford Notch in 1803 provided the farmers of northernmost New Hampshire and Vermont (and therefore, we may be sure, their neighbours of the Eastern Townships as well) with an alternative winter market at Portland. "From Coos [County, New Hampshire], from Vermont, away to the Derby line, came down in winter long strings of red pungs, each drawn by two horses, with a board projecting behind, on which stood the driver, clad in a long blue frock. In the pung were his round hogs, cheese, butter, and lard, together with a round red box in which were stored his own provender for the journey, in the shape of huge chunks of cheese and big doughnuts. . . . For a return load they took up flour, salt fish, rum, and molasses, and thus trade flourished, flowing through the narrow gorge."⁴⁰ After the establishment of the Embargo, however, the farmers of the Eastern Townships sent no agricultural produce south to New England. Like the Americans between the White and the Green Mountains, they hauled their transportable surplus westward over winter trails to the Lake Champlain route to Montreal, or sometimes floated it down the St. Francis River to Quebec.⁴¹

The Craig Road was considered completed, as already noticed, in the autumn of 1810. The first benefits of the road were manifested as soon as sleighing to the Eastern Townships was good. At the beginning of January, 1811, four sleigh-loads of pork and butter arrived at Quebec from the Connecticut valley, and 130 fat sheep from Stanstead in the Eastern Townships. The new traffic in these and other products continued throughout the winter. With the coming of spring, however, it stopped, for the roadbed proved too soggy for the stagecoach, let alone a wagon laden with pork and potash. As the road had to dry out thoroughly before livestock could be driven over it, it was not till the late summer of 1811 that the trade to Quebec in cattle from northern New Hampshire, north-eastern Vermont, and the parts of the Eastern Townships adjacent to them came to rival the old trade to southern New England markets.⁴²

³⁹Timothy Dwight, *Travels; in New-England and New-York* (4 vols., New Haven, 1821), II, 458; Jeremy Belknap, *The History of New Hampshire* (3 vols., Boston, 1774, 1791, 1792), III, 143; Percy W. Bidwell and John I. Falconer, *History of Agriculture in the Northern United States 1620-1860* (Washington, 1925), 141-2.

⁴⁰Edward H. Elwell, "The White Hills of New Hampshire" (*Collections of the Maine Historical Society*, IX, 1887, 218-19).

⁴¹Kendall, *Travels through the Northern Parts of the United States*, III, 281; Bouchette, *Topographical Description of the Province of Lower Canada*, 321.

⁴²*Quebec Mercury*, January 7, April 1, August 26, September 9, 1811; Dwight, *Travels*, IV, 169-70.

Montreal fared better than Quebec for fresh meat during the Embargo and afterwards. This was partly because the British farmers near the city responded to the expansion in demand by increasing their production much faster than did the habitants around Quebec, but mainly because Montreal was the emporium of Upper Canada, north-eastern New York, and northern Vermont. It was the best outlet for the swine and cattle of eastern Upper Canada,⁴³ and its good communications southward and its high prices enabled it to compete effectively with Albany, New York, and Boston for the livestock of the American and Canadian settlements adjacent to Lake Champlain.⁴⁴

From the repeal of the Non-Intercourse Act in May, 1810, to the commencement of the war with the United States in June, 1812, Lower Canada was less prosperous than it had been, for with the opening of American ports to British shipping, the quotations on potash and other articles produced in the province or exported through it declined. The men—especially numerous in the Eastern Townships—who had neglected their farms to concentrate on refining potash found their means of livelihood virtually at an end. Nevertheless, it would be incorrect to say that agriculture in Lower Canada as a whole was greatly depressed. The French Canadians were almost untouched by the collapse in the value of potash, for few of them had ever been persuaded to invest in the cauldrons necessary for making it.⁴⁵ Even the inhabitants of the Eastern Townships were soon able to compensate for the loss of the profits they had anticipated from their ashes by taking advantage of the high prices for cattle at Quebec. Moreover, most of the products theretofore exported were still salable, even if they were not very remunerative. The leading agricultural commodities shipped from the St. Lawrence in 1812 compared favourably in quantity with the exports of the Embargo and Non-Intercourse years—263,178 bushels of wheat, 27,652 barrels of flour, 19,237 quintals of biscuit, 22,384 bushels of peas, 2,483 barrels of pork, 1,695 barrels of beef, and 734 kegs and firkins of butter. The greatest falling off was in

⁴³Livestock began to be exported from the eastern Loyalist settlements in Upper Canada to Montreal about 1800. Many of the animals were conveyed there aboard timber rafts. Heriot, *Travels through the Canadas*, 153.

⁴⁴*Quebec Mercury*, April 25, 1808; John Kilbourn, *Columbian Geography; or a Description of the United States of America* (Chillicothe, 1815), 67-8; Peter S. Palmer, *History of Lake Champlain, From its First Exploration by the French in 1609, To the Close of the Year 1814* (Albany, 1866), 185.

⁴⁵Gray, *Letters from Canada*, 214; Lambert, *Travels through Lower Canada*, I, 231; Stewart, *A Short View*, 6.

potash and pearlash, of which a total of only 35,077 hundredweight was exported.⁴⁶

As could be expected, the still far from substantial agricultural export trade from the St. Lawrence valley and the region tributary to it contracted sharply on the outbreak of the American War. From the beginning of hostilities till more than a year after their ending, the quantities of wheat and flour shipped from Quebec were insignificant.⁴⁷ Lower Canada now had little grain surplus owing to a series of poor crops ascribable to the Hessian fly, and Upper Canada, with its farmers drawn into the militia and with raids threatened or taking place along its whole border, could of course send nothing to Lachine. Indeed, both provinces were shortly on an import basis as far as breadstuffs and other provisions were concerned. The military authorities early recognized that they could not obtain therein the supplies they required, and accordingly, in the autumn of 1812, they made it known throughout north-eastern New York, northern Vermont, and northern New Hampshire that they would welcome the importation of flour and pork from those quarters. Their cupidity aroused by the high prices promised and paid, the border Americans brought hundreds of loads of provisions to Montreal as soon as sleighing commenced in 1812.⁴⁸ The contraband traffic in pork, flour, and livestock assumed larger and larger dimensions as the war went on. American army officers were powerless to stop it, especially after the legislature of Vermont repealed (October, 1813) the law inflicting penalties on persons trading with Canada.⁴⁹ In the summer of 1814 one general wrote in despair: "On the eastern side of Lake Champlain the high roads are found insufficient for the supplies of cattle which are pouring into Canada. Like herds of buffaloes they press through the forest, making paths for themselves. . . . Nothing but a cordon of troops from the French Mills to Lake Memphramagog could effectively check the evil."⁵⁰

While the war lasted, the agriculturists of Lower Canada who had any surplus benefitted even more from the army demand than

⁴⁶Innis and Lower, *Select Documents in Canadian Economic History*, 229-30. The corresponding returns for 1807, 1808, 1809, and 1810 are given above, in note 31.

⁴⁷See above, note 21.

⁴⁸M. Smith, *A Geographical View of the Province of Upper Canada; and Promiscuous Remarks on the Government* (3rd ed., Philadelphia, 1813), 97-8.

⁴⁹*Kingston Gazette*, December 25, 1813.

⁵⁰Report of General Izard, July 31, 1814, quoted in Henry Adams, *History of the United States of America* (9 vols., New York, 1891), VIII, 93. Cf. also *Kingston Gazette*, December 4, 1813, and Cyrus Thomas, *Contributions to the History of the Eastern Townships: a Work Containing an Account of the Early Settlement of St. Armand, Dunham, Sutton, Brome, Potton, and Bolton* (Montreal, 1866), 88.

did their American contemporaries. By the spring of 1815, however, with the Napoleonic menace dissolved (as it was thought) and the Treaty of Ghent signed, prices began to settle. The mercantile communities of Quebec and Montreal believed it was only a question of time till Lower Canada would be threatened with the destruction of its newly-won trade in square timber by the repeal of the British differential duties, and they knew that Canadian flour and wheat would find difficulty in entering the British market against the double handicap of the Corn Laws and competition from Russia and the Germanies.⁵¹ Their forebodings with respect to timber were not justified immediately, but those with respect to the grain trade were. For this and other reasons, agriculture in most of Lower Canada entered a prolonged depression.⁵²

The farmers with the best chance of adapting themselves to the new circumstances created by the termination of the wars were the comparatively few Scotsmen and Englishmen around Montreal and Quebec. As a class, as already mentioned, they were much superior in their husbandry to the habitants. They had, too, among them a sprinkling of "improving farmers"—often merchants with plenty of money to spend for show—who furnished leadership. Some of these improving farmers brought swine from the British Isles during the early eighteen-hundreds, but not enough of them to threaten the predominance of the landpike.⁵³ One of these men was responsible for the introduction into North America of the first sheep of the New Leicester breed. Bordley noted in 1799 that "the only sheep of Mr. Bakewell's breed in America, that I have heard of, are what the Rev. Mr. Toosy, an improving farmer from England, brought to Quebec."⁵⁴ Perhaps the wealthier improving farmers were most interested in the breeding of horses. Governor Sir James Craig gave an impetus to this movement by sponsoring horse racing on the Plains of Abraham among the merchants and garrison officers. This would be in 1808 or 1809. Horse racing seems to have been more or less continuous thereafter at Quebec and probably also at Montreal.⁵⁵ The races gave rise to a little craze for importing fast horses from Great Britain or the United States. In 1810 an advertisement appeared in the *Quebec Mercury*

⁵¹ *Montreal Gazette*, March 2, 30, 1815.

⁵² Jones, "French-Canadian Agriculture," 141ff.

⁵³ Lambert, *Travels through Lower Canada*, I, 143.

⁵⁴ John B. Bordley, *Essays and Notes on Husbandry and Rural Affairs* (2nd ed., Philadelphia, 1801), 176.

⁵⁵ Lambert, *Travels through Lower Canada*, I, 319; Palmer, *Journal of Travels in the United States of North America*, 226; [Benjamin Silliman], *Remarks Made on a Short Tour between Hartford and Quebec, in the Autumn of 1819* (2nd ed., New Haven, 1824), 360-1.

for a stallion called "Young Sweepstakes." He was described as the offspring of an imported thoroughbred called "Old Sweepstakes" and of a three-quarter blooded dam from Long Island. In the same issue there are mentions of saddle and harness horses sired by "Bajazet" and "Bull Rock," both imported blooded horses.⁵⁶ Most of the British farmers in Lower Canada, however, would have scorned to be considered improvers. They prided themselves on being too practical to buy fancy stock of any kind, unless they saw a chance to make money out of so doing. But they had open minds, were located close to markets, and had a sufficiency of capital. Possessed of these advantages, they were able in theory and in actuality to cope with the problems of the post-war era.⁵⁷

The settlers in the Eastern Townships were in a far from advantageous situation at the close of the American War. They were still handicapped in reaching their Canadian markets, and there was little hope that the legislature at Quebec, dominated in its lower branch as it was by hostile French Canadians, would appropriate funds for roads to end their isolation.⁵⁸ But the inhabitants of the Townships—perhaps 20,000 in number in 1815—were inured to the privations of backwoods life and they had plenty of enterprise. After 1815 they relied, as earlier, primarily on potash, cattle, and horses for the income they needed to provide themselves with tea, salt, and the manufactures of the British Isles, though for a time many of them, like their friends across the international border, hoped to find their economic salvation in fine-wool growing. Between 1816 and 1830 they obtained many Merinos in Vermont, New York, and Massachusetts, and so made the Eastern Townships a minor rival in sheep raising of the hill country of northern New England.⁵⁹

The habitants, who still outnumbered the individuals of British or American extraction in Lower Canada in the proportion of at least ten to one, had neither the enterprise of the Eastern Townships pioneers nor the capital and knowledge of the British farmers. The war had raised their standard of living somewhat, at least in

⁵⁶*Quebec Mercury*, March 19, 1810.

⁵⁷Cf. Sir C. P. Lucas (editor), *Lord Durham's Report on the Affairs of British North America* (3 vols., Oxford, 1912), II, 36-7.

⁵⁸D. G. Creighton, *The Commercial Empire of the St. Lawrence 1760-1850* (Toronto, New Haven, and London, 1937), 194.

⁵⁹*Montreal Canadian Courant*, January 26, 1831; Bouchette, *British Dominions*, I, 309; Joseph Bouchette, *A Topographical Dictionary of the Province of Lower Canada* (London, 1832), "Ascott," "Eaton," "Hereford," "Shipton"; *Information Respecting the Eastern Townships of Lower Canada* (London, 1833), 14; Ezra Carman, H. A. Heath, and John Minto, *Special Report on the History and Present Condition of the Sheep Industry of the United States* (Washington, 1892), 343.

the sense that they purchased woollens and other British manufactures more largely than formerly, but it had not altered their essential self-sufficiency. They sold as a rule only what they did not require for their own use, and they responded reluctantly to the appeals of grain dealers and of drovers for increased output. They therefore accumulated scarcely any financial reserves. Hardly any of those around Montreal and Quebec changed their technique in husbandry as a consequence of observing the innovations of the British settlers located among them, and the rest of the habitants, even if they had been willing to abandon their immemorial routine, had no improving farmers among their own compatriots to imitate, for the politicians to whom they looked in every respect for leadership displayed at best an academic and theoretical interest in agriculture rather than a practical one. By 1815 primitive French-Canadian tillage methods had already exhausted the land throughout many of the areas once called "the granaries of Lower Canada," and they threatened to do so universally. The Select Committee of the Lower Canada Assembly which in 1816 made a report on the agriculture of the province could do nothing but condemn the farming practices of the French Canadians, and to warn that persistence in them would infallibly bring disaster.⁶⁰ But the habitants continued to cling obdurately to wheat as their staple and to their traditional way of cultivating their fields, and spurned any suggestion that they should emphasize stock raising or dairying, the branches of agriculture for which their region was best suited climatically. Under these circumstances, the pessimistic prognosis of the Select Committee soon proved all too accurate. For a full generation—that is, till mid-century—the economic history of the seigneuries, as the present writer has shown elsewhere,⁶¹ was to be one of crop failures, shrinking purchasing power, and widespread distress.

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⁶⁰*Journal of the Legislative Assembly of Lower Canada, 1816*, Appendix E.

⁶¹Jones, "French-Canadian Agriculture," 141ff.

REVIEW ARTICLE

SOME RECENT BOOKS ON ENGLISH HISTORY

- Leveller Manifestoes of the Puritan Revolution.* Edited with introduction and commentaries, by DON M. WOLFE. Foreword by CHARLES A. BEARD. New York: Thomas Nelson and Sons. 1944. Pp. xiv, 440. (\$5.00)
- The Leveller Tracts, 1647-1653.* Edited by WILLIAM HALLER and GODFREY DAVIES. New York: Columbia University Press. 1944. Pp. vi, 481. (\$6.50)
- The Writings and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell, with an Introduction, Notes, and an Account of his Life.* By WILBUR CORTEZ ABBOTT, with the assistance of CATHERINE D. CRANE and MADELEINE R. GLEASON. Vol. III. *The Protectorate, 1653-1655.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1945. Pp. xvi, 978. (\$5.00)
- Years of Victory, 1802-1812.* By ARTHUR BRYANT. London: Collins. 1944. Pp. xii, 499. (12s. 6d.)
- The Tariff Problem in Great Britain, 1918 - 1923.* By RIXFORD KINNEY SNYDER. (Stanford University Publications, History, Economics and Political Science series, vol. V, no. 2.) Stanford, Cal.: Stanford University Press. 1944. Pp. 168. (\$2.00, paper; \$2.50, cloth)

THE Puritan Revolution continues to engage the attention of some of the most distinguished scholars in the United States; and it is evident from the publications of the past year that the war has not seriously interrupted their work. Material for the continuance of such work is now available in a number of American libraries, even when sources in Great Britain are for the time inaccessible; and many of the most original studies published in recent years have been based largely upon these sources. It is fortunate that such material is available. There has seldom been a time when the issues involved in the constitutional struggle of the seventeenth century have had greater or more immediate importance. The problems which vexed the souls of Englishmen as they strove by divers means to realize their ideal of Christian liberty in their own society have a very near kinship with the problems with which, on a larger scale, we are confronted at the present time; and it would be a grave misfortune if interest should slacken, or if facilities for continued study of this crucial period in the history of the English-speaking peoples should be withdrawn for any long period of time.

That there has been no slackening of interest, and that the work of expanding and revising the interpretations of earlier writers has gone steadily forward, has been due in the main to the initiative of such scholars as Professor Notestein, Professor Abbott, Professor Haller, and some others. It is to these men and to their associates and students that we are chiefly indebted for the advance made toward a fuller understanding of this period in recent years. Their own interpretations have illumined many places left obscure by earlier writers, and their collections of source material have made available to students in general evidence that had hitherto been accessible only to very few.

English scholarship on the whole has not kept pace. Apart from a few biographies of Cromwell—a subject of perennial interest—and a number of specialized studies of varying degrees of worth and importance, there has been little evidence of an interest comparable with that shown by American students. There are no doubt many reasons for this difference, and this is not the place to attempt an explanation. But one reason is surely to be found in the greater readiness of

English scholars to assume that the work was done, that S. R. Gardiner had in fact said about all that could usefully be said on the subject. Probably no one would now be found to agree with the more extravagant claims of finality and completeness made by some of Gardiner's admirers at the time of his death; with the judgment, for example, that "for fact and for opinion, this is the final history," the history "that will never need to be rewritten." But, if one may judge from the comments of the critics, there are many who still look askance at anything that suggests the incompleteness of his work, or casts doubt on any of his conclusions.

American historians in general have been more critical. They have not failed to recognize and to respect Gardiner's great service to historical scholarship; but that has not blinded them to his very evident limitations. As early as 1905 Professor Cheyney, whose interests lay in social and industrial history, called attention to the extremely narrow concept of history upon which Gardiner's work was based; and later developments have added to the force of that criticism. Great as was Gardiner's achievement, his history was in fact confined to chronological political narrative. He asked the questions that came naturally to the mind of a nineteenth-century liberal scholar. He answered them with a measure of exact knowledge probably greater than any other individual has ever possessed; and his work lost nothing in popularity, despite its bulk and its undistinguished style, for his having answered them precisely as his middle class Victorian readers desired that they should be answered. But there were other questions which he did not ask, or at least which he did not answer. Beyond the limits which he and his contemporaries accepted as bounding the field of historical investigation lay a vast area of human activity that was not recorded in political journals, state papers, and diplomatic dispatches; and no explanation of the Puritan Revolution could be even approximately complete which failed to take account of the continuous and far-spreading social, economic, and intellectual change which underlay the struggle between the Stuart kings and the House of Commons, or between Cromwell and his many-sided opposition.

The Leveller movement is one of those aspects of the Revolution to which nineteenth-century writers gave little serious consideration. Carlyle's heavy condescension ineffectually concealed his real ignorance. Gardiner had little to say about it that was at all significant. He published the proposed Leveller constitution of 1647, and he found space in his general history for occasional comments on some of Lilburne's more important or more provocative pamphlets. But his real interest, as Professor Haller observes, was in the House of Commons and in the career of Oliver Cromwell. The Levellers were on the margin, somewhat remote from the central theme; and the historian who, in eighteen volumes of detailed narrative, gave one short paragraph to Hobbes was not likely to spend much time analysing the political and social theories of Lilburne and Walwyn, or exploring the social conditions in which such a movement took its rise.

Current interest in these seventeenth-century democrats is indicated by the almost simultaneous publication of two volumes of their writings. The collection edited by Mr. Wolfe contains nineteen pamphlets, or parts of pamphlets, most of them written by the three Leveller leaders, Lilburne, Walwyn, and Overton. The core of the collection is the series of constitutional proposals known as the *Agreements of the People*, which were designed as the basis of the democratic republic which the Levellers sought to inaugurate. The pamphlets which precede and which follow these illustrate the evolution of the ideas embodied in the *Agreements* and the arguments by which they were defended against their many critics.

They are illuminating documents. Professor Beard, who contributes a foreword, regards the political theories which they expound as the first clear statements of the "self-evident truths" of the Declaration of Independence; and he asserts, although without any very convincing evidence to support the statement, that the liberal doctrines transmitted by Locke to Jefferson and written into the "immortal document," were taken straight from the Levellers.

The history of the movement, summarized in Mr. Wolfe's introduction, is equally illuminating. As propagandists, the Levellers were sometimes skilful, sometimes insufferably dull. As strategists they were hopeless. Probably they could not in any circumstances have made much impression on what Milton contemptuously dismissed as "the image-doting rabble." But their rather naive belief that they could make use of an army commanded by such men as Fairfax and Cromwell to overthrow the existing government and establish a democratic republic on the basis of a written constitution and manhood suffrage, indicates how far they were from any real understanding of the political forces with which they had to deal.

The most interesting sections of Mr. Wolfe's narrative are those in which he contrasts the realism of Cromwell and Ireton, intent always upon what was practicable in the England of their day, with the idealism of the Levellers, who would be satisfied with nothing short of "utopian perfection." Lilburne's ideas of free, tolerant, democratic government had a future. As expounded by one of the speakers in the Army Debates of 1647, they have been described as the "moral justification of democracy." But in 1649 it was Cromwell who had the power; and as a political force the Levellers did not long survive the *coup d'état* which they had helped to bring about.

The collection edited by Professor Haller and Professor Davies gives a more rounded view of the controversy in which the Levellers were engaged. The emphasis here is rather more on the debate between the Leveller leaders and the Long Parliament, which they rightly regarded as being no longer a parliament in any real sense of the term; and the collection includes, in addition to the more important statements of Lilburne and his friends, a number of pamphlets illustrating the other side of the argument. The most important of these is the pamphlet prepared by order of the House of Commons in 1647. That such an order should have been issued is in itself an indication of the importance which the parliamentary leaders attached to the Leveller movement. But the laborious efforts of their scribes to persuade the English people of the traitorous and Jesuitical designs of Lilburne and his friends were not very impressive; and one is forced to conclude that, had the issue been decided by reasoned argument alone, victory would have rested with the democratic leaders.

Together these volumes provide material for the study of one of the most instructive chapters in the history of the long struggle for the establishment of free government. These pioneers of democracy accomplished little in their own day. But their ideas are part of the heritage that is shared by the peoples of Great Britain, the United States and Canada; and time, which has in some measure brought a realization of their ideals, although in ways very different from those which they contemplated, has robbed their words of little of their significance.

To turn from these Leveller pamphlets to the documents which record the establishment of the Cromwellian Protectorate is to experience in a striking form the difference between debate and decision, between idealism largely unrelated to reality, and practical action based upon a realistic appraisal of existing political

forces. The last document in the Haller-Davies collection is the courageous, but somewhat pathetic vindication of his life's work, written by Lilburne on the eve of his final imprisonment by Cromwell. The documents in Professor Abbott's volume which correspond in point of time are those which record the practical measures taken by Cromwell and his council of officers to set up their new government after the dissolution of the Rump and the short-lived experiment of the Nominated Parliament. The contrast is enlightening. It reveals some of the complexities which resulted from the application of the Puritan ideal to secular politics; for the government projected by Lilburne and that established by Cromwell was each, in its own way, the product of the same general body of religio-political thought.

The third volume of Professor Abbott's work contains more new material than either of the earlier volumes. Much of this relates to administrative detail, and its value lies mainly in the light which it throws on the character and working of the Protector's government. It confirms the view that the Council was the real centre of the new system. The record, when allowance is made for recent changes, is remarkably like the record of the old Privy Council; and the attitude of the men engaged in this work of government seems to have differed very little from that of other men engaged in similar work at other times. Apart from Oliver's own statements from time to time on the workings of Providence and the high mission entrusted by God to this new government, there is little here to reflect the idealism of a few years back. Most of those who served the Protector were, in Professor Abbott's judgment, "not high idealists, but men of no strong convictions," experienced administrators, intent upon the immediate task, and not greatly concerned about questions of consistency. It was clearly the government of a minority based on the army; and the omnipresence of the military, commented upon in many of the documents here printed, allowed no one to forget where the real power lay. Whether Oliver was, as he afterwards complained, the "mere drudge" of the soldiers, it is evident that very little was accomplished in this first period towards shedding the military and donning the civil trappings of government.

The most interesting documents in the volume are those which relate to the Protector's foreign policy, in particular to the series of events which culminated in the war with Spain. The evidence supports Gardiner's judgment that Oliver was himself responsible for the venture; and Professor Abbott is inclined to discount the more idealistic motives which figured prominently in the Protector's public statements on the question, and to which some of his apologists have attached so much importance. The real object, according to this interpretation, was security for the new government; and the simple desire for plunder is given high place among the motives which prompted the expedition. It was not very skilful policy, and in Professor Abbott's words, "on the moral plane it was not evidently above that of other rulers."

This is a searching scrutiny of these formative years of the Protectorate. It reveals a government of moderate efficiency, labouring against very general opposition to establish a workable administration, and to deal with the vast number of problems created by years of war and disorder. Within limits it was tolerant on religious questions, but it was no more disposed than earlier governments to countenance anything in the nature of political opposition. The word dictatorship recurs constantly in the text. It was dictatorship with a difference, but it was clearly dictatorship; and the author plainly dissents from the vague, sentimental views of some nineteenth-century writers who saw Oliver chiefly as a champion of a

free democratic government. A short passage on that subject merits quotation. "It is among the amusing ironies of history to reflect what would have been the immediate reaction of even some of his greatest panegyrists to the fact of his dictatorship, had they been fortunate enough to have enjoyed its benefits."

One criticism made of the earlier volumes of this series must be repeated. In its present form its utility is greatly impaired by the absence of any guide to assist the reader in finding the documents which it contains. Presumably this is not intended to be just another biography of Cromwell. The writings and speeches are the essential part. Yet these documents are here buried in the midst of Professor Abbott's biography, which occupies the greater part of the volume. If they are to be of any real service to the student, some means must be found of enabling him to discover them without the labour of searching page by page for the material which he requires.

In his *Years of Victory*, Mr. Bryant continues his history of the struggle against revolutionary and Napoleonic France. The period dealt with, from the Treaty of Amiens to the eve of Napoleon's Moscow campaign, provides him with abundant material to illustrate the theme developed in an earlier volume of a parallel between the struggle against Napoleon and that against Hitler's Germany. The book follows very closely the pattern of the *Years of Endurance*, reviewed in these columns a year ago. It is a vivid narrative of a great achievement, written with the author's customary skill and distinction, and marked throughout by that intense feeling of national pride which characterizes all his recent work.

The specialist will find much to criticize. The record of the past has been very evidently coloured by reflection on the present. Judgment on Bonaparte and his rule puts the emphasis a little too constantly on the corrupt, the criminal, and the capricious. These features were obvious enough; but Bonapartism meant something more than this, and there is nothing to be gained by disregarding or under-stating its more constructive elements. Yet there is a real analogy between the two periods; and it is well that the world should be reminded that ours is not the first generation in which "the calm, the moderation and the sanity of the despised shop-keepers" have withstood the excesses of continental revolution, and have proved a "better rallying ground for mankind" than the New Order of would-be dictators.

In the main this is a history of the skilful and successful use of sea-power to overcome an enemy whose power on land was for the time invincible. A good deal of space is given to the first phase of the Peninsular War, and to the endless difficulties with which Wellesley had to deal, at the War Office and in the field. But the victory that justifies the title was a naval victory, founded on Trafalgar and developed by the courage and resourcefulness of British seamen in the years that followed. On that theme Mr. Bryant is at his best, and the navy has had no better chronicler of its heroic achievement.

His comments on domestic history are less impressive. The statement that the ruling classes were so continuously preoccupied with the great struggle that they could spare no time to consider the social problems created by the industrial revolution will not bear careful examination. There is a pretty comprehensive code of repressive legislation to testify to the contrary; and it is to be noted that when preoccupation with the war ceased, that code did not come to an end. The point is perhaps of minor importance when compared with the central theme of the book, which is the struggle of the British people for survival; but where so much is said of the sanity and moderation of Tory rulers of the type of Eldon, Addington,

and Liverpool, and of the incredible heartiness and well-being of the fortunate community who lived under them, it is not wholly to be overlooked.

Dr. Snyder's essay on the *Tariff Problem* is another sectional study in the history of the change from free trade to protection in Great Britain, a question that is likely to attract increasing attention in the future, and one that is of some concern to Canadian students. It deals with a short but critical period, when the leaders of the Tariff Reform group in the Conservative party sought to take advantage of the post-war depression to push their favourite nostrum, and to secure popular support for the change. Industrial development during the war and the MacKenna duties of 1916 created an opportunity more favourable than had existed during Chamberlain's campaign.

The obvious policy for Bonar Law and his group was to exploit this situation. They had a majority in the coalition, and so long as they retained Lloyd George as the nominal leader, they cherished the hope that liberalism might be carried along with them. Dr. Snyder explains the manoeuvres by which this group endeavoured to secure further protection for various industries, under any guise that would serve their purpose. Sources for the study are still limited, and the full story will not be known until the more intimate correspondence of the chief actors becomes available. Limited as it is, the book throws a good deal of light on the last years of the Coalition, and on the first efforts of the Conservative leaders to bring the question into the open and secure a popular mandate for their policy. The author's sympathies are evidently not with the tariff reformers, and he has some shrewd judgments on the political opportunism of Lloyd George and others.

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REVIEWS OF BOOKS

North Atlantic Triangle: The Interplay of Canada, the United States and Great Britain. By JOHN BARTLET BREBNER. Prepared under the direction of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Division of Economics and History. New Haven: Yale University Press [Toronto: The Ryerson Press], London: Humphrey Milford: Oxford University Press. 1945. Pp. xxii, 385. (\$5.50)

WITH this volume, which may be briefly described as an interpretative essay in the field of comparative history, a series almost fifteen years in the making reaches its conclusion. As Dr. J. T. Shotwell, the man most responsible for its appearance, has explained, the twenty-five volumes were designed "to cover the whole field of political, economic and cultural relations between Canada and the United States, and those relations with Great Britain which bear upon this large area of North American history." To Dr. Shotwell and the Carnegie Corporation, whose generous support made the series possible, the Canadian people owe a debt of gratitude. Not only have they made possible the appearance of a set of handsomely printed studies, in the main the work of Canadian scholars whose researches might otherwise have not reached the public, but they have filled gaps in our knowledge of the interrelations of the two most closely-knit neighbours in the world. The planners of the Carnegie series, as it has become familiarly known, ranged far afield in a desire to reach their ambitious objective. The series has contained studies of industries, national (Canadian dairying) or international (cod fisheries) in their economy, a sociological survey of opinions and attitudes in Canada concerning the United States, regional surveys of such areas as Western Ontario, the Red River Valley, and the Pacific Slope, and statistical analyses and interpretations of Canadian-born in the United States and American-born in Canada. It has made available monographs in the fields of international law, diplomatic history, international investment, labour interrelations and transportation. And yet the "whole field" has not been covered—as was perhaps inevitable. Regrettably, no political scientist was available to complete a study of American influences on Canadian government, on which Professor Munro lectured so suggestively at the University of Toronto years ago. The mighty impact of American educational theory and practice upon Canada has yet to be evaluated. Every reader of the series will have his own preferences, but I offer a mild wager that many will place *The Commercial Empire of the St. Lawrence* and *The Mingling of the Canadian and American Peoples* high upon their lists.

The fact that Professor Brebner's volume is the last in the series should not lead to the easy assumption that his task was to sum up the conclusions of his predecessors. Actually, the blue prints for this volume were something like a guide to the field to be covered by the series when the various scholars settled down to their assignments. Moreover, the author of previous studies of the exploration of North America and the beginnings of Nova Scotia has long been collecting his material and reflecting upon its significance. His ruminations, as Graham Wallas would have called them, have resulted in one of the most skilful demonstrations of the art of comparative history that we have had in a long time. It is to be hoped that it comes to the attention of Professor Toynbee who has been pleading so eloquently for the historian to write more than purely national history.

When Mr. Brebner originally decided "to get at and set forth the interplay between the United States and Canada," he soon discovered what this volume makes overwhelmingly obvious—that both countries could not escape the influence of Great Britain upon their development, although that influence varied in kind and depth because of the American Revolution in one century and the triumph of Adam Smith in another. Like the unknown master of ceremonies during the recent visit of General Eisenhower to Ottawa, who arranged that the Canadian Red Ensign should fly from the Peace Tower and be flanked by the Union Jack and the Stars and Stripes on flagpoles of much less prominence, the author has given Canada far more attention than her relative importance in the North Atlantic Triangle justifies. This stress was intentional in view of the vast areas of ignorance concerning Canada which surround both Englishmen and Americans. A Canadian member of the Combined Food Board of the war period, if he were in a position to do so, could give us as accurate an estimate of Canada's position as any man, but meanwhile let us accept Mr. Brebner's with the warning which he has given us.

In planning the book, the author deliberately devoted a considerable portion of his narrative to geographical and economic factors in the development of the North American economy. His opening chapter on "The Patterns of the Continent" sets the stage in masterly fashion. From such chapters as "The Peoples and Their Rivalries, 1492-1763," "Sea, Forests Waterways, 1815-1850," "Westward the Course of Empire, 1850-1900," emerge figures like Keefer, Merritt, and Andrews, unknown to the Macaulayesque Canadian schoolboy better acquainted with Baldwin, Howe, and Lafontaine. Here is the sort of Canadian economic history that has had to wait for the accumulation of material and is so sorely needed. It is the author's thesis that the North Atlantic Triangle could not exist until the interlocking of the American, British, and Canadian economies had gone a long distance and until both Britain and the United States had begun to concede the existence of Canada as an independent national entity. To this end two chapters are devoted to "The Materials of a Triangle, 1896-1940" and "A Triangle Takes Form, 1880-1917." In the final chapters political isolationism and economic nationalism heightened by depression are examined, and the return to economic integration and statesmanlike co-operation in the forcing house of the Second World War are somewhat hurriedly described. The author ends upon a salutary note of warning which might well be pondered by the legislators of the three countries during this year of decision.

... It may be all right in time of war to echo Mr. Churchill's "Let it roll" and to trust that peril will splice and hold taut the affairs of the United States and the British Commonwealth and Empire which war has "mixed up together." But the inhabitants of the United States can tell the British Prime Minister that they have learned to their cost that they dare not let their Mississippi roll. They are forced to maintain gigantic control works, a corps of skilled engineers, great batteries of machines, and regiments of laborers in order to detect its vagaries and to curb it lest it burst its banks and spread destruction. Americans, Britons, and Canadians may heartily share in the aspiration which was voiced in "Let it roll on full flood, inexorable, irresistible," but they also know from the record of the past that they must share in hard work if they are to make real the rest of Mr. Churchill's sentence—"benignant, to broader lands and better days."

One of the pleasant features of this readable study is the author's fondness for historical parallels and inclination to summarize historical trends in epigram-

matic fashion. Thus he argues that Great Britain and the United States invented the lend-lease technique as early as 1798. In that year George III and his ministers sent guns and shot from Halifax for the defence of Charleston at the request of the Secretary of State, Timothy Pickering, who feared the prospect of a war with France at a time when the United States was manifestly unprepared. The war material was designated as being on loan, but Pinckney presumed, "They will never be redemanded"—a presumption which George III made good. For Dominion status, Mr. Brebner likewise finds a "worthy Anglo-Saxon predecessor" in the admission of Vermont to the Union in 1791. The persistent central problem in Canada's external relations between 1880 and 1914 is assessed as amounting "to a kind of book-keeper's puzzle, that is computing a balance of how much Canada gained by any improvement in Anglo-American understanding as against how much she gave up in order to make it possible." The development of Canadian nationality after confederation is summarized by the verdict "that while Macdonald fought British indifference by constructing a nation, while Laurier fought centralization by refusing commitments, and while Borden fought condescension by balancing responsibility against a share in policy-making, all three aimed to enable Canada to chart her own course in the Empire and the world."

The value of this work is heightened by its ample supply of maps, many reprinted from earlier volumes in the series, and its excellent bibliographical notes. In a future edition the author might avoid the use of the inaccurate phrase "Dominion of Canada."

F. H. SOWARD

Historical Section of the General Staff, Canadian Military Headquarters in Great Britain. No. 1. *The Canadians in Britain 1939-1944*. No. 2. *From Pachino to Ortona: The Canadian Campaign in Sicily and Italy, 1943*. With forewords by Lieutenant-General J. C. MURCHIE. (The Canadian Army at War, published by authority of Minister of National Defence, nos. 1 and 2.) Ottawa: King's Printer. [1945]; [1946]. Pp. 172; 160. (25c. each)

Gauntlet to Overlord: The Story of the Canadian Army. By ROSS MUNRO. Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada. 1945. Pp. xiii, 477. (\$3.00)

The Falaise Road. By ALAN WOOD. Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada. 1944. Pp. 64. (\$1.00)

THE Historical Section of the Canadian Army has embarked on the welcome enterprise of producing a series of brief popular booklets covering the activities of Canada's military forces during the recent war. This is all the more commendable because it has been undertaken with a conscious recognition of the incompleteness of the material in certain respects, and of the restraints which are necessarily imposed when the closeness of events inhibits complete freedom of discussion and analysis. When the mass of records has been fully digested, and when the lapse of time permits a detached and critical presentation, a fuller and more balanced account will undoubtedly be possible. But the precedent of the First World War suggests that the production of a definitive official history is a protracted process, and that such a history is unlikely to reach a wide popular audience. In the meantime, the available material is adequate for a

brief and simple presentation of the essential facts about Canada's military effort.

The two booklets which have already appeared augur well for the series as a whole. The first, which covers the period of the long wait in England, can hardly be expected to hold the same interest as the accounts of combat operations. Yet it is well to have on record the story of the years which placed such a strain on discipline and morale, yet which were also a time of unremitting preparation whose results were clearly evident when the Canadian forces were at last committed to action.

The first participation by Canadians in a major campaign came with the invasion of Sicily and the subsequent advance up the Italian peninsula. *From Pachino to Ortona* covers a period of six months of almost continuous fighting to the point at which the whole Allied advance bogged down before the German winter line south of Rome. It is a clear and straightforward narrative, vivid in many of its descriptions of actual combat, and at the same time conscientious in establishing the tactical lines of each engagement and the battle order of the units taking part. Although there is only the briefest sketch of the Allied campaign as a whole, there is a commendable and on the whole successful effort to keep the Canadian operations in perspective in relation to the broader picture. Perhaps the most difficult phase to deal with was the campaign on the Adriatic during the late autumn and early winter of 1943; and the account of the complex and highly detailed operations from the Moro to Ortona is presented as clearly as one could reasonably ask. The way that tactics and strategy were shaped by the terrain is emphasized throughout; and while there is little attempt at critical analysis, the account makes it abundantly clear how frequently—indeed, in this campaign one might say how chronically—the initial plans were frustrated by circumstances and new plans had to be devised to meet unforeseen developments. This booklet will do a great deal to clarify the Sicilian and early Italian campaigns, not only for those of us who followed them from afar, but for many of the actual participants.

Ross Munro's volume performs much the same service over what is for the moment a broader field than has as yet been covered by more official publications. Perhaps more than any other Canadian war correspondent, Munro had a talent for grasping the basic lines of an operation and presenting them with clarity and precision. This quality is evident in his book, as it was in his best despatches; and it is united with powers of factual description which give a dramatic quality to his eye-witness accounts. His book opens with the most dramatic phase of all, the storming of the Normandy beaches; and while this begins the story in the middle and defers the account of preceding events until the latter half of the volume, the somewhat curious arrangement gets adequate justification from the sustained interest of the narrative into which the reader is plunged at the outset.

Munro had the good fortune to be directly on the spot, not only for the invasion of Normandy, but for the landings at Dieppe and on Sicily and a considerable part of the subsequent campaigns. He writes as an eye-witness, and—whether consciously or not—as a witness who sees events through the eyes of the infantry. Such an outlook adds to the direct impact of his descriptions. His account of the Normandy landing conveys his sense of wonderment, almost incredulity, that men could breach the defences of the Atlantic wall, much less that they could achieve it in the space of two hours. His account of Dieppe, where

he was attached to the force that encountered the bloodiest resistance, communicates the essence of that nightmare drama. He shares some of the limitations as well as the advantages of the participant, but when he is dealing with first-hand experiences his narrative is always clear and frequently vivid and moving.

Circumstances prevent this book from being a complete and rounded account of the Canadian Army's operations. Munro left Italy in September, 1943, and his account of subsequent events, including the break-through to Rome, is brief and sketchy. Similarly, his narrative of events after the Battle of the Scheldt is reduced to a minimum, though this is the period of the desperate fighting in the Hochwald and the battle of Holland. But his is the nearest approach to an overall narrative that we possess at the moment, and it is as useful as well as a highly interesting contribution to the history of the Canadian Army.

A brief foot-note to Munro's account is provided by Alan Wood's small booklet on the drive to Falaise. This was a critical and hard-fought series of operations, in which the Canadians bore the brunt. Wood is only slightly concerned with tactical details. His purpose is to emphasize the arduous nature of the struggle and the supreme gallantry of the Canadians in the face of their formidable task. It is a bit of descriptive writing that is discursive and episodic, but it does convey both the strain and the confusion of battle, and its ungrudging tribute to Canadian valour will find grateful acceptance, particularly on the part of the men who broke the hinge at Caen and helped to close the Falaise trap.

None of these books contains an index. Munro's is illustrated by photographs and several sketch-maps. The official booklets contain not only maps and photographs, but a selection of drawings and paintings by Canadian war artists, with a number of the paintings reproduced in colour. This last is a most welcome feature, and it is to be hoped that forthcoming booklets in this series will be even more generous in the use of such material.

EDGAR MCINNIS

University of Toronto.

The Discovery of Canada. By LAWRENCE J. BURPEE. Drawn end papers by JAMES SIM. Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada. 1944. Pp. x, 280. (\$3.00)

L'Épopée de la fourrure. Par RÉGINE HUBERT-ROBERT. Montréal: Éditions de l'Arbre. [1945]. Pp. 275. (\$2.00)

NEITHER of these books is intended to add anything to our knowledge of the discovery of Canada or of the history of the Canadian fur trade. Both are works of popularization.

Of the two, Dr. Burpee's book is by far the more satisfactory. It is now over a third of a century since the first edition of Dr. Burpee's classic *Search for the Western Sea* made its appearance; but its author has continued since that time his interest in the story of Canadian exploration, and has indeed made new and notable contributions to it. Now he has conceived the idea of telling the story of the chief explorers of Canada so far as is possible in their own words, in such a way as to capture the interest of the general reader. The result is a series of chapters in which the pathfinders of Canada become living and speaking personalities. The method Dr. Burpee has adopted has, of course, its drawbacks. It means that he has to side-step deliberately nearly all of the most

interesting problems that the story of Canadian exploration presents—such as the location of Vinland, the place of Cabot's landfall, the course of Radisson's explorations, and the identity of the sons of La Vérendrye, to mention only a few. But he makes up for these omissions by printing at the back of his book an admirable bibliography, for those who wish to go into any phase of the subject more thoroughly; and he prints also as a sort of appendix a useful series of "biographical notes," giving a brief account of the lives of the chief explorers mentioned in the book. There is an excellent map illustrating the exploration of Canada, printed on the end papers; and there is a full and satisfactory index.

On the other hand, Mme Hubert-Robert's *L'Épopée de la fourrure* is a puzzling book. It deals first with the discovery of the north-west coast of America, then with the fur trade of New France, and lastly with the history of the great fur-trading companies. But the treatment is curiously sketchy and superficial. There is no mention of sources or authorities; there is no index; and there is not even a preface or introduction setting forth the author's design. An unusual feature of the text is that it is interlarded with frequent fragments of voyageurs' songs; but even of these the source is nowhere indicated. *Verb. sap.*

W. S. WALLACE

The Library, University of Toronto.

Fur Brigade to the Bonaventura: John Work's California Expedition 1832-1833 for the Hudson's Bay Company. Edited by ALICE BAY MALONEY. With a foreword by HERBERT EUGENE BOLTON. San Francisco: California Historical Society. 1945. Pp. xxii, 112.

JOHN WORK could never be classed with Sir George Simpson, Dr. John McLoughlin, and Sir James Douglas among the "giants" of the fur trade; nonetheless it is to his journals and letters that we owe much of our knowledge of life in the Hudson's Bay Company's service west of the Rockies during the eighteen-twenties and eighteen-thirties. Fifteen of the journals dating from 1823 to 1835 are preserved in the Provincial Archives at Victoria, B.C. Mr. Henry Drummond Dee of Victoria, aided by the Archives staff, has been able after years of research to establish the text of these journals and has edited the two last, Numbers 14 and 15, which had not previously been printed, for the *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*. Mrs. Maloney has edited journals Number 11 and 12 for the *California Historical Society Quarterly*. She has also made use of the original manuscript journals in the Provincial Archives of British Columbia.

It is a matter of regret that all of John Work's journals have not been so carefully transcribed and edited as have the four above mentioned. Unfortunately, with the exception of the first journal of 1823-4 only extracts from which have been published, the texts which have appeared in print were taken from a transcript with little reference to the original. Because Work wrote a rather difficult and crabbed hand his early transcribers, often not trained historians, left gaps and made errors. Now in the case of the four mentioned journals it is possible to accept the text as authentic.

The importance of the 1832-3 journals edited by Mrs. Maloney consists in the light which is thrown on the activities of the Hudson's Bay Company in what are now the States of Oregon and California. Work's was not the first trading expedition to go south from the Columbia but it was the first to pene-

trate by a new route to the Sacramento River and San Francisco Bay. Above all, these journals describe minutely and with much local colour the painstaking journey from Fort Walla Walla, down the Columbia, across the barrens of Eastern Oregon, over the Cascade Range to the headwaters of the Bonaventura, or to give it its modern name, the Sacramento, down to San Francisco Bay, then to the Russian settlements on the Coast and up to the redwood country. Thence Work doubled back to the Sacramento and went down to French Camp, now Stockton, California. The return journey was up the Sacramento to Pit River, thence skirting Mount Shasta to the headwaters of the Rogue River, across to the Umqua and overland to the Willamette and on to Fort Vancouver.

On the journey, Work came into contact with an American trading party headed by Ewing Young, and later met a Hudson's Bay Company's party under Michel Laframboise. He visited the mission of San Francisco Solano at Sonoma and sent Laframboise and five men to San Francisco to obtain a supply of ammunition from Governor Figueroa. The mission was unsuccessful. Work chronicles several thefts of horses by the Indians. A colourful note is struck by the romantic adventures of the runaway native wife of Joseph Sebastian La Roque.

Mrs. Maloney has done a workmanlike job in a most attractive *format*. There are some unnecessary errors. Unfortunately the notes are not placed at the foot of the page but are gathered together at the end of the volume. The index is rather brief but, on the whole, adequate. Possibly the introduction might have been lengthened and clarified to advantage. The map is useful but it could have been improved by the inclusion of the mountain ranges.

A feature of the volume which should be mentioned is the foreword by Professor Herbert Eugene Bolton. In his usual happy and picturesque style he has described the California brigades and has included a brief but valuable historical summary of the activities of the Hudson's Bay Company in California from 1824-43. He raises but does not discuss the question of the political aspect of these Hudson's Bay Company ventures to California. He is of opinion that "it is probably true that in the period indicated the employees of the Hudson's Bay Company, coming from the north, took from California more beaver skins and other peltry than all the American fur gatherers combined."

W. N. SAGE

University of British Columbia.

The March of Medicine in Western Ontario. By EDWIN SEABORN. Toronto: The Ryerson Press. 1944. Pp. xvi, 386. (\$6.00)

"Up to a point," Mr. Bernard Shaw has said recently¹ "the history of medicine is a dictionary of medical biography." Mr. Shaw had no thought of helping a medical reviewer by providing him with such an apt characterization, but the truth of what he says, in this case at any rate, cannot be denied. Dr. Seaborn has not said that he is writing the history of medicine in Western Ontario, but that is what his book is really concerned with, and it is based largely on the lives of the medical men who carried on the medical work in that district from its earliest days of settlement. The rather vague area involved seems to centre in London.

¹In a review of Dr. Guthrie's *History of Medicine* in the *London Observer*.

Short sketches of many of the early doctors are given, and if there are few names which have more than local interest that is only to be expected. Ahern in his *Notes pour servir à l'histoire de la médecine dans le Bas-Canada* has a good passage in which he says that in the corresponding period, there were among the medical men in the Province of Quebec some who were eminent enough to have been an honour to any country; others, more numerous, who enjoyed the public confidence, and, finally, as in all countries, a large group of nobodies. These latter were to be found especially in the country parts. And this may well be applied to Ontario. Certainly Dr. Seaborn leaves us with the impression of early medicine at its roughest. The description of autopsies performed in public recalls the public "anatomies" of Vesalius' time. And even these present no greater crudity than the scenes described in the early days of the Medical School of the University of Western Ontario.

The very scanty chronicles available must be borne in mind. Dr. Seaborn's search for material can be well understood and sympathized with by anyone who has concerned himself with the medical history of the period.

The references to epidemics recall the three major diseases which are now only the rarest curiosities in Ontario, malaria, cholera, and ship fever. In the early days of the Province "the shakes" was referred to quite casually; what we know must have been malarial chills were taken as a matter of course just as they were in the upper Mississippi valley in its pioneer days. Probably in both cases the disappearance of malaria may be accounted for by the same sequence of events; the opening up of railways, drainage, and improvement in living conditions. Cholera and ship fever (which was mainly typhus fever) were imported visitations, the direct accompaniments of the floods of immigrants from Ireland and Great Britain. Their disappearance was more rapid.

The latter two epidemics at least were responsible apparently for the first attempts at hospitals in Western Ontario. The details supplied by Dr. Seaborn are disappointingly curt, but it seems that one hospital built at Turkey Point by order of the lieutenant-governor of Upper Canada was finished a month after cholera had disappeared from the district. The building had no windows or furniture and never admitted a patient. A second hospital at Port Stanley at least had some occupants, but as there was only one bedstead, one shirt, and one sheet in it, it can hardly be described as a going concern. A cart was available for the dead. The food would have required miraculous intervention to supply the needs of the destitute inmates.

There is little to relieve the picture of poverty and roughness in the hospital accommodation of these early days until well on into the eighteen-sixties, unless it be the figure of the youthful Captain Dormer on his charitable rounds in the military hospital at London in 1866. But he died before he was twenty-two, quite probably a victim of disease acquired in his work of mercy.

Little attempt has been made to make a coherent story out of this material. It records advance and improvement from very rough and grim circumstances, and it provides a source of information on the growth of a section of Canada which will be valuable in wider and more connected historical surveys, for Dr. Seaborn has rescued and made available indispensable material. But the style and arrangement do not make for attractive reading. Equally disappointing is the weakness of the indexing.

H. E. MACDERMOT

Montreal.

- Lake Erie*. By HARLAN HATCHER. (The American Lakes series, edited by MILO M. QUAIPE.) Indianapolis, New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Company [Toronto: McClelland and Stewart]. 1945. Pp. xiv, 416. (\$4.50)
- Rochester the Water-Power City, 1812-1854*. By BLAKE MCKELVEY. (Publication no. 1, Rochester Public Library, Kate Gleason Fund Publications.) Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1945. Pp. xvi, 383. (\$4.00)

Lake Erie follows the form of the other books in the "American Lakes" series. Its historical presentation is fair, its cartology meagre. French and Indian wars and the inevitable 1812 receive due attention, but the great wars and great commerce of the twentieth century are not ignored. The point of view is American and Lake Erie shipyards' contribution to war tonnage up to 1945 is given in interesting fashion. The book is written in popular style, with few foot-notes, some pages of bibliography and acknowledgements, and a reasonably extensive index. Abigail Becker cannot be found in it. Colonel Talbot appears as "James" here, and as "Thomas" in the text, and "Fort Talbot" and "Port Talbot" appear to be interchangeable. The tremendous achievement of Americans in the steel industry and city building on Lake Erie occupies half a dozen chapters. The Canadian shore has but one. Jack Miner's bird sanctuary is noted, possibly as the most important development. Windsor is called a "spillover" from Detroit. The other ports are treated as flag-stations on a marine highway.

In 1810 Colonel Nathaniel Rochester came from Maryland to the fertile Genesee wilderness on Lake Ontario, with his wife and eleven sons and daughters and as many slaves and servants. In developing a moderate land speculation he founded a community which now has city historians, as by state law required, and a means of publishing its history, through the gracious recognition of her teacher of history at school by a wealthy citizen. Hence this "Publication One," a historian's joy, each statement authenticated by a reference in inconspicuous notes at the bottom of the page. The arrangement avoids a burdensome appendix laden with acknowledgements. The methodical presentation traces the development of a typical mid-American city in its formative period in the nineteenth century. It is not obvious why the dates 1812-1854 are used as mileposts. The action of the drama starts with the century. The last date does mark a turning point, for the former mill site was by then a well-developed city on the verge of greater things.

Dr. McKelvey, with the detachment proper to the civil service, confines comparisons to general reference to the race with Buffalo in growth, and some mention of older New York centres. Toronto, on the opposite side of Lake Ontario, he says trailed Rochester in population until the eighteen-sixties. This Canadian city is the only one comparable to Rochester in the period. It claimed, questionably, 45,000 population in 1856. Rochester had 43,877 in 1855. The two had similar growing pains, from mud, fire, taxation difficulties, cholera, and politics. For Toronto's rebellion, Rochester had anti-masonic fury which went deeply into politics. But one city was the result of unrestrained individual enterprise and the strength of mixed races. Rochester, says Dr. McKelvey, was the child of the Genesee valley, peopled by Irish, Dutch, Norse, German, and American immigrants, but the grandchild of New England. Toronto was almost solidly of British stock up to 1854, and enterprise was affected for better or for worse by paternalism and the presence of a large proportion of governmental institutions and non-producers.

Another lake and another book supply illumination. The Water Power City grew great from its own Genesee River and from Lake Erie water channelled through its gates by the Erie Canal. There is much in Mr. Hatcher's description of the founding of Cleveland, and of Toledo, Ohio, which suggests Rochester's early experience. Individual enterprise had free play in both. It was the corner stone of all the American Lake Erie cities except Detroit.

Mr. Hatcher mentions the feudal autocracy of the Talbot settlement, the largest on the Canadian side. Colonel Talbot received a grant of 5,000 acres in 1803, about the time Colonel Rochester bought the hundred acres of his future city for \$1,750. The 5,000 acres are said to have grown to 60,000 through 200 acres more being demanded for each 50 acres "settled." But in 1850, when Talbot's village of St. Thomas, from which he had driven reformers with hickory clubs, had a total population of 750, Rochester was touching 40,000. St. Thomas is now a city of 17,903.

Quoting the adverse comments of Mrs. Jameson and others on the difference in development on the opposite sides of Lake Erie and of the Detroit River in the first half of the century Hatcher suggests these explanations: "The French population was conservative and content with its ways. Detroit was filled with Americans on the make. . . . Canada was controlled by the family compact . . . poor folk found it difficult to get enough land to get a living on." This may not tell the whole story, but the planned economy of Canada in the first third of the nineteenth century was far from the free-wheeling speculation which made Cleveland, Toledo, and Rochester. These emerging cities were marked by a tradition of live-and-let-live and of swift adaptation to changing conditions which encouraged growth.

C. H. J. SNIDER

Toronto.

Rapport de l'Archiviste de la Province de Québec pour 1942-1943. Québec: Secrétariat de la Province, Rédempti Paradis, Imprimeur de sa majesté le roi. 1943. Pp. xvi, 486.

THIS volume continues three series which were begun in earlier reports, all of which were noticed in the CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW: the second part of the calendar, prepared by the Abbé Adélard Desrosiers, of the correspondence of Bishop Lartigue, first Bishop of Montreal, covering the years 1827 to 1832, inclusive (pages 1-174); the fifth instalment of the catalogue of engagements for the western trade, prepared by Mr. E.-Z. Massicotte, covering the years 1788 to 1797, inclusive (pages 261-397); and the third instalment of the correspondence between Governor Vaudreuil and the French court, between April 27, 1709, and May 1, 1710 (pages 399-443).

The report also contains a summary, compiled from various sources, by Canon A. R. Kelley, of the correspondence and papers of Bishop Jacob Mountain, first Church of England Bishop of Quebec, covering the years 1793 to 1799, inclusive (pages 175-260). Owing to the official position of the Church of England, the majority of the letters summarized were addressed to H.M. Government and only a few to the Archbishop of Canterbury. Canon Kelley has maintained the high standard of calendaring set in all the reports of the Quebec Archives. It is to be hoped that the work which is begun here may be continued, over the years, to the end of Mountain's episcopate in 1825.

JAMES J. TALMAN

University of Western Ontario.

Sur un État actuel de la peinture canadienne. By MAURICE GAGNON. Montréal: Société des Éditions Pascal. 1945. Pp. 158, 16 illustrations.

THIS book is a broadside in support of the contemporary school of painting in Montreal. Entitled simply *Peinture canadienne* on its cover, the book's full title must be understood in order to appreciate its point of view. Mr. Gagnon, the author in 1940 of *Peinture moderne*, is an apostle of modernism in art. Accordingly this is not a history of Canadian painting; the time is not yet ripe for that, according to the author who sees past history in a rather original light. He accepts or rejects the various developments in Canadian painting before our times in so far as they contributed to contemporary "living" art. That this is no uncommon viewpoint amongst writers on art is realized on examination of the books of Reginald Wilenski and Sheldon Cheney.

The argument is introduced by an expression of the author's satisfaction that universality and generalization are replacing regionalism in Canadian art. Like some other Quebec writers, Mr. Gagnon is sensitive to the picturesque *habitant* of Kriehoff and other painters of the nineteenth century, to the ubiquitous snow scene of the early twentieth century, and to the Group of Seven's stylization of the northern Ontario landscape. These are examples of regionalism.

Academic as against "living art" is the subject of the first chapter. On the one hand is set the unoriginal, repetitive, eclectic art taught in academies; on the other is creative art with its technique responsive to the feelings of the artist. This distinction, which comes from a reading of the history of painting in France during the nineteenth century, has become one of the foundations of a widely held philosophy of creativeness in art current today. Mr. Gagnon, however, gives the theory a religious twist in his analogy between "living art" and the unlimited creation of God. He proceeds to state that "living art" includes not only the works of modern artists but also all the really original works of the past. One is tempted to complete this argument by saying that therefore (a) academic art must include the derivative art of the most modern artists, and (b) that "living art" is simply the name for a new academism, a new formula. However, all of this turns out to be the prelude to an account of the founding of the modern school in Montreal—in particular of the Contemporary Arts Society (1939).

In a chapter entitled "*Enseignement de l'art*" Mr. Gagnon writes about art education and its needs in the Province of Quebec alone. In support of his liberal policy he restates the popular theory that the child is an instinctive poet who must be given the chance to express himself. In fact all art education must be "liberating" in character, so that even adult artists may become instinctive like children.

Under the heading of "Tradition" the author's attitude to the history of Canadian art is revealed. Far from evincing a slavish respect for the past, he makes it clear that older Canadian painting has only the value of preparing the way for the living art of the present. This explains a willingness to pass over the period from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century in a sentence. For the first significant Canadians were James Wilson Morrice and Ozias Leduc, the former a Canadian-born cosmopolitan who participated in Paris with his friend Henri Matisse in the European movement towards a preoccupation with the picture pattern and with subtle harmonies of colour; the latter a sensitive,

mystic poet of painting who lived in Montreal. Both of these relinquished regionalism. Slightly later contemporaries were the painters of the Group of Seven and the Montreal group of the Montée Saint-Michel. The Group of Seven, according to Mr. Gagnon, were thwarted moderns employing an out-moded impressionistic technique and escapist subject matter, and achieving only an empty sort of decoration. He makes exception, however, in the cases of Lawren Harris and A. Y. Jackson who had their part in the revival of significant form. Of the other group, Delfosse is for Gagnon more sensitive to visual subtleties than others of his generation.

It is in speaking of the contemporary painters of Montreal (to him the only centre of Canadian modern art, since important developments take place only in cosmopolitan surroundings) that Mr. Gagnon reaches the principal point of his book. Most of these painters have based their development on the Morrice and Leduc tradition, and they are the representatives of "living art." John Lyman, a prime mover of the Contemporary Arts Society, possesses a sense of formal organization; Émile Borduas is the poet of abstract art; Goodridge Roberts is a generalizer of the Canadian landscape; and Stanley Cosgrove a distinctive master of line and form. Other significant painters include Marc-Aurèle Fortin, Mary Bouchard the naive lay painter, Louise Gadbois, Jori Smith, Marian Scott, Eric Goldberg, Fritz Brandtner, Louis Muhlstock, Philip Surrey, Jean-Paul Lemieux, and Henry Eveleigh, most of whom are represented in the illustrations. A special place is reserved for Alfred Pellán who has lived in Paris and experimented in all the modern manners, but whose approach is always fresh and whose art displays joyous harmonies of colour. The younger painters of several Montreal groups receive attention here: at their best they evince a spirit of freedom while in the midst of the battle for a new style, for a Canadian version of universal modernism. The Canadian feature of this new style, Mr. Gagnon suggests, may perhaps be a kind of religious mysticism. Jacques de Tonnancour, whose style was formed by the influence of Matisse and Goodridge Roberts, is perhaps the most outstanding of the younger generation which also includes the interesting Denyse Gadbois.

A defence of modern distortions in painting forms a part of the last chapters, which also include an account of the influence of French artists and critics in Canada. A catechism of questions and answers on the modern style and a prediction in the words of Guillaume Apollinaire that the "rose will bloom" in Canada conclude the book.

The style of writing in *Peinture canadienne* is polemic, as is suited to its purpose. Eclectic though it be in its theories and sententious in tone in several passages, the book is an interesting and provocative one. The genuine enthusiasm behind it will be shared by readers who welcome the advent both of a modern school of painting and of critical writings on Canadian art. There is the added advantage of certain valuable factual information not to be found elsewhere: the names of artists, teachers, collectors, and publications.

R. H. HUBBARD

University of Toronto.

Album of American History: Colonial Period. Edited by JAMES TRUSLOW ADAMS. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1944. Pp. xiii, 411. (\$7.50)

Album of American History: 1783-1853. Edited by JAMES TRUSLOW ADAMS. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1945. Pp. xii, 418. (\$7.50)

It should be said at the outset that R. V. Coleman has been associated with Dr. Adams, as managing editor, in the preparation of both these volumes, as has also Atkinson Dymock as art editor. W. J. Burke is associate editor of the Colonial Period, and Thomas Robson Hay of the 1783-1853 volume. A third volume, carrying the work beyond 1853, is in preparation, and there is the possibility of a fourth volume.

This interesting and important work, which rounds out Scribner's *Dictionary of American Biography*, *Dictionary of American History*, and *Atlas of American History*, is an attempt to do, in an entirely different way, for the history of the United States, what Charles W. Jefferys has done for Canada in *The Picture Gallery of Canadian History*. Instead of one competent artist, with a very special knowledge of his subject, doing a series of drawings of the events and materials of history, based upon contemporary records, the purpose here has been to "tell the history of America through pictures made at the time the history was being made." That method obviously has the defects as well as the merits of complete dependence upon contemporary pictures. Some of these are of doubtful value historically, and some are so uneven in quality and in their susceptibility to reproduction, that the art director must have had a hard time persuading them to serve his purpose. But this is only to say that Dr. Adams and his associates, having bound themselves by rigid rules, had a hard task, and it is all the more creditable that they have produced so complete and authoritative a picture gallery of American history.

This is, in fact, an album of "American" history in the continental sense, for the student of Canadian history will find a surprising amount of material illustrating every phase of his subject, from the manners and customs of Indian tribes, and the early voyages to the Atlantic coast, down through the years; the relations between New France and New England; western exploration and the life of the frontier; the fur trade and the cod fisheries; post roads and postage; colonial architecture and furniture, leather work, clothing, silverware, weapons and utensils, early books and newspapers and folk songs, clocks and watches, methods of architecture, and lumbering. One is reminded that Donald McKay, who built clipper ships in New England, was born and learnt his beautiful craft in Nova Scotia; that the Hudson's Bay Company and the North West Company had scores of trading posts in what is now United States territory; that Samuel Cunard, who founded the Cunard Line of transatlantic steamers, was a Nova Scotian; that Jim Hill was associated with Donald A. Smith, later Lord Strathcona, in railroad building on both sides of the international boundary; that Loyalists from New England and New York laid the foundations of Upper Canada, and Canadians fought in the War with the South; that the gold-rush in California was followed by the gold-rush in Cariboo. And so it goes. Altogether a fascinating pair of books in which anyone may browse with pleasure and very real profit,—also an excellent piece of book-making.

LAWRENCE J. BURPEE

Ottawa.

The Profane Virtues: Four Studies of the Eighteenth Century. By PETER QUENNEL.
New York: The Viking Press [Toronto: Macmillan Co.]. 1945. Pp. 220.
(\$4.00)

THE "profane virtues" which Mr. Quennel illustrates by his studies of Boswell, Gibbon, Sterne, and Wilkes are those defined by Gibbon (p. 115) as sincerity and moderation. The title is perhaps more happy than entirely true, for Boswell was nothing if not immoderate, Sterne ran down the hill into a vale of sentiment, and Wilkes was the very embodiment of passion, leaving only the author of the phrase in full possession of the field. That is perhaps not an unjust approach to an historical review of this charming group of essays, if to it be added that Mr. Quennel shows ample acquaintance with the main currents of eighteenth century development in England, including, where necessary as in the case of Wilkes, the political history of the period, as well as the detailed knowledge required for the characters he has chosen to represent it. He has also a fine style, a light touch, a delightful sense of irony, and an abiding interest in human nature, its virtues as well as its foibles, not to add its vices. For the last of these, he is a little inclined to go on flaying the dead or dying horse of Victorian prudery. He has much reliance on "the character of the period," if only (as on p. 179) to display its contradictions. And for the historian (as the remark on the title suggests) he is a little over fond of easy generalizations, as on p. 85, where on a single page he ventures three barely qualified ones as to the behaviour of governments and individuals. The four characters he chooses do not fill out the age. But the panorama of the eighteenth century was a spacious one, with "beds for all who come" and Mr. Quennel's bed is a commodious and luxurious one; in short a four-poster.

R. FLENLEY

University of Toronto.

Lutherans in Canada. By VALDIMAR J. EYLANDS. With an introduction by the Most Reverend FRANKLIN C. FRY. Winnipeg: The Icelandic Evangelical Lutheran Synod in North America. 1945. Pp. 328, vii. (\$3.00)

THE author of this work is the pastor of the First Lutheran Church (Icelandic) in Winnipeg. He was born in Iceland, and served in the Norwegian, Icelandic, and Pacific synods of the Lutheran Church before coming to Winnipeg in 1938. In the foreword he explains that when he tried to familiarize himself with the history of the Lutheran Church in Canada he was able to obtain only meagre and fragmentary information. This led him to study the question. "The present volume" he writes, "is an attempt to give a brief account of the great immigration movements in the 18th and 19th centuries which brought hundreds of thousands of Lutherans from Germany and Scandinavia, as well as from the United States, into this Dominion, and of their efforts to plant and perpetuate the church of their fathers. The information here presented is gleaned from pamphlets, synodical reports, minutes of synodical meetings, private letters and personal conversations with numerous leaders of the denomination in Canada." It is thus a pioneer work in this field.

This makes it all the more regrettable that the author did not see fit to document the work. The book would have been of much greater value had the Reverend Eylands indicated briefly, say at the close of each section (if he did not wish to employ foot-notes, which would have been most satisfactory) what his sources were—what printed material was available, how extensively he had to rely on manuscript material, and what he gleaned from letters and personal conversations.

Except for a brief bibliography which lists a few general works, a number of anniversary and miscellaneous publications, there is little indication of the sources used. This severely restricts the value of the work to future students.

After an introductory chapter on "The Historical and Doctrinal Background" containing a brief summary of Lutheran doctrine (necessarily controversial and of doubtful value), the author traces the history of the various Lutheran bodies in Canada: The Nova Scotia Synod, The Canada Synod, The Icelandic Synod, The Manitoba Synod, The Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Church, The Augustana Synod, The United Danish Church, The Lutheran Free Church, and The Missouri Synod. Each of these is dealt with in some detail. The general approach is that of tracing the history of the settlements, the formation of congregations, and their union to form larger bodies. As the author states in his foreword the book is merely intended to "pave the way for a more comprehensive history of Canadian Lutheranism." Therefore, the greater part of the work is devoted to recounting the organization of congregations, their struggles to erect church edifices and their material progress, together with biographies of prominent Lutherans, laymen, and clerics. Much of this is trivial, dealing with such matters as the purchase of organs and bells, the erection of tombstones, etc. There is, however, some discussion of the problems facing the various racial groups in making their home in a new country. It is a pity that the author was not able to deal at length with the aspect of the subject which Dr. Fry mentions in the introduction when he writes that the Lutheran Church has discharged a "genuinely crucial, although unintentional, function. It has been the ideal bridge for its wide assortment of believers to lead them into Canadian citizenship and civic life. It has accomplished this transition so naturally that it has been almost imperceptible and always wholesome. This difficult feat would have defied any other institution."

The section on the Icelandic Synod seems to this reviewer the fullest and best. However, the account of the formation of this Synod appears somewhat sketchy especially when compared with the space devoted to the history of the author's own congregation in Winnipeg. It would be interesting to know what part this and other Synods have played in the preservation of the language and culture of the various racial groups. A minor error in this section is the inclusion of the congregation in Vancouver under the heading "Congregations in Saskatchewan."

The book is on the whole readable. However there are some errors in the use of English which might have been corrected in the proof reading. The Index (called Register) is deficient, e.g. in that it contains only the surnames of individuals, omitting (except in a few cases), the given name or initials. It is also very incomplete, even as a list of persons mentioned in the text. Another minor complaint I have is the practice of, at times, Anglicizing Icelandic names. Where type is available (as it is in this case), there is no excuse for not printing the word in its proper form.

The book is very profusely illustrated. This adds greatly to its popular appeal. The Reverend Eylands deserves our thanks for having broken ground with this book. It is to be hoped that he and others will go on to deal with the more important aspects of this subject.

T. J. OLESON

The University of British Columbia.

Up the Stream of Time. By Viscountess BYNG of VIMY. Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada. 1945. Pp. 24. (\$2.75)

LADY BYNG, in these entertaining recollections of a fairly long life, and one that, partly, perhaps, because of her courage and saving sense of humour, seems to have had fewer dull moments than most of us have to endure, has something to say about her life and travels and the people she has known in many parts of the world—India, Egypt, South Africa, Australia, California, and what not. However, apart from her English homeland, she devotes most of her book to her several visits to Canada, as a child in the days of the Marquess of Lorne and Princess Louise, as the wife of the Governor-General in 1921-6, again for a short time in 1932, and finally after the death of Lord Byng, as an evacuee in 1940-5.

Perhaps the most worthwhile aspect of these reminiscences is the intimate glimpses they give of the man who commanded the Canadian Army in the First Great War and represented the King in Canada for five years. A wife may not write an impartial biography of her husband, but she can give her readers impressions of his character that no one else is in a position to offer: in this case of Lord Byng's kindliness and simplicity, his intense loyalty to the men under his command, his dislike for pomp and circumstance, the difficulty he found in getting through the purely social duties of Government House. Any one who recalls those days will not have forgotten that Lord Byng was obviously the shyest man in his own drawing-room.

Nor have I forgotten an example of his kindliness. I happened to be in London a few years after his return to England, and drifted into the Athenaeum Club with a letter of introduction from J. C. McLennan, of the Physics Department of the University of Toronto. McLennan had asked the secretary to put me up for a few days. There was some slight misunderstanding, and I assured the secretary that it was of no importance, and left. The next day a card arrived at my hotel, with a note from the secretary. Lord Byng, who probably did not know me from scores of other Canadians whom he had received at Rideau Hall, had come into the club, learned of the incident, and insisted upon putting me up in his name.

Lady Byng notes the fact that no biography has been written of her husband. "In the past," she says, "it had been arranged between myself and John Buchan that we should write it together more or less, but Julian died just before the latter left for Canada, and though he thought of writing the book whilst out there, he realized that for obvious reasons it wouldn't be possible." Lady Byng says that Buchan (he was not yet Lord Tweedsmuir) urged her to do it, but she felt that a wife's biography would not carry much weight; and so it was never done.

Here is her farewell to Canada:

My thoughts fly to the flaming glory of Laurentian autumns, to green forests and snow-capped Western mountains, to peacock-fields framed with brilliant wild flowers. In my ears will ring the eerie laugh of loons on silent waters, the plaining of the whip-poor-will in summer evenings, the strange drumming of the mosquito-hawk's strong wings as he plunges earthwards in his nightly hunting. All these things I shall recall as my ship slips down the mighty length of 'Le Fleuve', towards the cold grey waters of the Atlantic which I must cross again, for the last time, before I tread the rolling fields of my East Anglian homeland.

LAWRENCE J. BURPEE

Ottawa.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS RELATING TO CANADA

PREPARED BY THE EDITORIAL OFFICE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO PRESS

(Notice in this bibliography does not preclude a later and more extended review. The following abbreviations are used: B.R.H.—Bulletin des recherches historiques; C.H.R.—CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW; C.J.E.P.S.—Canadian journal of economics and political science.)

I. THE RELATIONS OF CANADA WITHIN THE EMPIRE

America and the Commonwealth (Round table, no. 141, Dec., 1945, 40-9). Sets forth the economic case for empire preference.

BRADY, ALEXANDER. *The Commonwealth* (University of Toronto quarterly, XV (2), Jan., 1946, 148-69.) Discusses the genesis of the Commonwealth, the problem of reconciling imperial unity with dominion nationalism, and the character and forms of co-operation within the Commonwealth.

BURCHELL, C. J. *The Statute of Westminster and its effects on Canada*. Johannesburg: South African Institute of International Affairs. 1945. Pp. 16. (25c.)

ELTON, Lord (ed.). *Imperial Commonwealth*. London: Collins. 1945. Pp. 544. (\$5.00) To be reviewed later.

FROST, RICHARD. *The British Commonwealth and the world*. London: Royal Institute of International Affairs [Toronto: Oxford University Press]. 1945. Pp. 74. (30c.) An unofficial conference of delegates from the Institutes of International Affairs of the United Kingdom and the Dominions was held at London, England, in February, 1945. This summary of the main trends of the discussion examines the Commonwealth's past development, and some of its fundamental future problems.

HUTCHISON, GRAHAM SETON. *Cecil Rhodes the man*. London: Humphrey Milford [Toronto: Oxford University Press]. 1944. Pp. 19. (75c.)

KRAUS, RENÉ. *Old Master: The life of Jan Christian Smuts*. Toronto: Longmans, Green and Company. 1944. Pp. 471. (\$4.50) To be reviewed later.

Royal Empire Society. *The political future of the British Commonwealth and Empire*. With a foreword by the Earl of CLARENDON. London: Longmans Green. 1945. Pp. 47. This pamphlet prepared by a Study Group of the Royal Empire Society is divided into four parts: "Dominion Status and the Unity of the Commonwealth"; "The External Relations of the Commonwealth"; "India and Burma"; and "The Colonies."

SCOTT, F. R. *The end of dominion status* (Canadian bar review, XXIII (9), Nov., 1945, 725-44). An analysis of the present legal relations between the members of the British Commonwealth.

_____. *Socialism in the Commonwealth* (International journal, I (1), Jan., 1946, 22-30). Discusses the changes that may be anticipated in the relations of Commonwealth countries to each other and to the world as a result of the increasing socialistic tendencies that are in evidence in the Commonwealth.

II. CANADA'S INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

ARMSTRONG, ELIZABETH H. *Canadian-American cooperation in war and peace, 1940-1945* (Department of State bulletin, XIII (331), Oct. 28, 1945, 674-8).

BEATTIE, LAURA. *Gateway to a new world: Report on the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization Conference, Quebec City* (Canadian geographical journal, XXXI (6), Dec., 1945, 304-8).

Canada and international cartels: An inquiry into the nature and effects of international cartels and other trade combinations. Ottawa: King's Printer. 1945. Pp. ix, 72. (25c.) Report of the Commissioner, Combines Investigation Act, Ottawa, October tenth, nineteen forty-five.

- Canada, Department of External Affairs. *Canadian representatives abroad and representatives in Canada of the British Commonwealth and foreign governments*. Ottawa: King's Printer. 1945. Pp. 27.
- Canada, Treaty Series, 1945. 13. *Declaration on atomic energy made by the President of the United States of America, the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, and the Prime Minister of Canada at Washington, November 15, 1945*. Ottawa: King's Printer. 1945. Pp. 4.
- COWAN, GLENN K. *High Commissioner [Canadian] for India required now* (Saturday night, LXI (22), Feb. 2, 1946, 6-7).
- EAGLETON, CLYDE and WILCOX, FRANCIS O. (eds.). *The United Nations: Peace and security* (American political science review, XXXIX (5), Oct., 1945, 934-92). This symposium is divided into five parts: "The Charter Adopted at San Francisco," "The Yalta Voting Formula," "Pacific Settlement of Disputes," "Collective Enforcement of Peace and Security," and "Colonial Questions at the San Francisco Conference."
- FREEDMAN, MAX. *Soviet foreign policy* (International journal, I (1), Jan., 1946, 37-47). Includes a discussion of Canada's relationship with the Soviet Union.
- GELBER, LIONEL. *Canada's new stature* (Foreign affairs, XXIV (2), Jan., 1946, 277-89). A discussion of the nature and implications of the "far-reaching diplomatic revolution" that Canada has undergone in recent years.
- HEASMAN, G. R. *Canada's trade commissioners* (Quarterly review of commerce, XII (1), 20-7). Discusses the origin, growth, and war duties of the Trade Commissioner Service, and the commissioners' training and functions.
- HERBERT, WALTER B. "UNESCO" puts Canada in humiliating position (Saturday night, LXI (8), Oct. 27, 1945, 22). Canada is the only ranking nation in the world totally lacking any suitable body to fit into the United Nations Educational and Cultural Organization.
- HODSON, H. V. *The Dominions in world affairs* (The listener, XXXIV (882), Dec. 6, 1945, 644-5). Discusses the Dominions' attitude toward world affairs with special reference to Canada's foreign policy.
- INNIS, H. A. *Comments on Russia* (International journal, I (1), Jan., 1946, 31-6). "Russia as the latest product of revolutionary technique is the most difficult for us [Canadians] to understand."
- MCINNIS, EDGAR. *North America and the modern world*. Toronto: J. M. Dent and Sons. 1945. Pp. x, 478. (\$2.25)
- MORTON, W. L. *Canada and future policy in the Pacific* (International journal, I (1), Jan., 1946, 55-64). The old pattern of Canadian external relations in the Atlantic—that of strain and pull between Britain and United States—is to be repeated in Canadian relations with the United States and Russia in the Pacific.
- NEWTON, THEODORE F. M. *An international export* (Canadian art, III (1), Nov., 1945, 33-4). Discusses the plans drawn up by the United Nations for the formation of a new world body to promote international cultural exchanges.
- POLAND, F. W. *Canadian foreign relations*. FALARDEAU, JEAN-CHARLES. *Quelques Épines du fédéralisme canadien*. A report of the Institute's Twelfth Annual Study Conference, at Kingston on May 26 and 27, 1945. Toronto: Canadian Institute of International Affairs. 1945. Pp. 23. (30c.)
- SKILLING, H. GORDON. *The Canadian diplomatic service* (Public affairs, IX (1), Dec., 1945, 23-7). A short outline of the early development of the Canadian diplomatic service, of its expansion during the recent war, and of its future needs.

SLOAN, GORDON. *The Canadian scene* (The advocate, III, part II, April, 1945, 42-4). Discusses the problems of Canadianism and Canada's international future.

VLASTOS, GREGORY. *Canadian Socialists and the U.S.S.R.* (Canadian forum, XXV (296), Sept., 1945, 131-4). A prominent authority discusses the aims and problems of Russia today and the need for understanding between Canadian and Soviet socialists.

III. CANADA, THE WAR, AND RECONSTRUCTION

BEAUDIN, DOMINIQUE. *Le Canada, la guerre et la paix* (L'action nationale, XXVI (3), nov., 1945, 205-22). Canada must use her influence disinterestedly for peace and justice in the post-war period; and that influence can only be exercised if she is free from tutelage to Great Britain.

Historical Section of the General Staff, Canadian Military Headquarters in Britain. No. 1. *The Canadians in Britain 1939-1944*. No. 2. *From Pachino to Ortona: The Canadian campaign in Sicily and Italy, 1943*. With forewords by Lieutenant-General J. C. MURCHIE. (The Canadian Army at War, published by authority of Minister of National Defence, nos. 1 and 2.) Ottawa: King's Printer. [1945]; [1946]. Pp. 172; 160. (25c. each) Reviewed on p. 60.

LAVOISIER, Commandant GASTON. *Travail d'après-guerre*. Montréal: Éditions Fides. 1945. Pp. 150. (90c.)

MUNRO, ROSS. *Gauntlet to overlord: The story of the Canadian Army*. Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada. 1945. Pp. xiii, 477. (\$3.00) Reviewed on p. 60.

WOOD, ALAN. *The Falaise Road*. Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada. 1944. Pp. 64. (\$1.00) Reviewed on p. 60.

Young Men's Committee, National Council of the Y.M.C.A.'s in Canada. *Canada: The war and after*. (Live and Learn series.) Toronto: Ryerson Press. 1942. Pp. viii, 78. (60c.)

IV. HISTORY OF CANADA

(1) General History

CREIGHTON, D. G. *The writing of history in Canada*. Founders' day address, University of New Brunswick. Fredericton: University of New Brunswick. 1945. Pp. 18. The ultimate objective of Canadian historians should be to write living history for Canadian men and women.

DELOS, J.-T. *Le Problème de civilisation La nation*. I. *Sociologie de la nation*. II. *Le Nationalisme et l'ordre de droit*. Montréal: Éditions de L'Arbre. 1944. Pp. 198; 218. To be reviewed later.

EYLANDS, VALDIMAR J. *Lutherans in Canada*. With an introduction by the most Reverend FRANKLIN CLARK FRY. Winnipeg: The Icelandic Evangelical Lutheran Synod in North America. 1945. Pp. 326, vii. (\$3.00) Reviewed on p. 71.

FAIRLEY, MARGARET (comp.). *Spirit of Canadian democracy: A collection of Canadian writings from the beginnings to the present day*. Decorated by JOHN A. HALL. Toronto: Progress Books. 1946. Pp. 320. (\$3.00) To be reviewed later.

FECTEAU, EDOUARD. *French contributions to America*. Methuen, Mass.: Soucy Press. 1945. Pp. 339. (\$2.25)

GRANDPRÉ, PÈRE ALPHONSE DE. *Propos d'un Éducateur*. Montréal: Librairie Saint-Viateur. 1944. Pp. 166. A collection of the most important essays and sermons of the late Père de Grandpré published in commemoration of his work as an educator. They include articles on the local history of Joliette, on literary criticism, and on education.

- JOHNSON, SKULI. *Iceland's thousand years: A series of popular lectures on the history and literature of Iceland*. With a foreword by HOLMERIDUR DANIELSON. Winnipeg: The Icelandic Canadian Club and the Icelandic National League. 1945. Pp. 170.
- LÉOPOLD, FRÈRE. *Les Cours d'été de l'Université St.-Joseph, N.B.* Montréal: Éditions Fides. 1945. Pp. 112. (\$1.00) A plea for the cause of French in Acadia.
- LOMBARD, BERTRAND. *Huitième édition (Garneau)* (Le Canada français, XXXIII (3), nov., 1945, 165-74). A discussion of the new eighth edition of F.-X. Garneau's famous *History of Canada* which is being edited and brought up to date by his grandson, Hector Garneau.
- MARION, SÉRAPHIN. *A la Conquête du haut savoir* (Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa, XV (4), oct.-déc., 1945, 446-70). French Canada "réclame toujours le lait sacré de doctrines sages qui favoriseront, en Amérique, le développement d'un humanisme original, fusion des humanismes ancien et moderne, vivante manifestation de l'humanisme éternel."
- NANTEL, MARÉCHAL. *La langue française au palais* (La revue du barreau, V (2), mai, 1945, 201-16). A discussion of some points in the historic and judicial background of the French language in Canada.
- PARNELL, C. "Company of Adventurers" (Forest and outdoors, June, 1945, 152-4). The Hudson's Bay Company, though 275 years old, is still a vital force in Canada's commerce having 200 fur-trade posts in action.
- ROBERT, ADOLPHE. *L'Évolution franco-américaine* (L'action nationale, XXV (6), juin, 1945, 423-38).
- ROBINTON, H. F. *A proposed regional public records plan for New York State* (New York history, XXVI (2), April, 1945, 189-207). Mr. Robinton's plan for organizing the public records of New York State has many points of analogy and interest for Canadian practice in this field.
- ROSE-MARIE, Soeur. *Marie dans l'éducation nationale en Acadie*. Montréal: Éditions Fides. 1944. Pp. 77. A study of the importance of devotion to the Virgin Mary in the survival of the "Acadian nation." The author sees the mission of this "little martyr people" to be the "survival of the French language and the French spirit wherever Acadians may live but particularly in the Maritime Provinces." [R. M. SAUNDERS]
- SANDERS, BYRNE HOPE. *Emily Murphy, crusader*. Toronto: Macmillan Company of Canada. 1945. Pp. xviii, 355. (\$3.50) To be reviewed later.
- SIMPSON, G. W. *Murray and Morton: Maritimers in the West* (Dalhousie review, XXV (3), Oct., 1945, 276-83). An appraisal of the contributions of Walter C. Murray and Arthur S. Morton to Canadian life.
- WAHN, IAN. *Canadian law of trade combinations*. Parts I and II (Canadian bar review, XXIII (1), Jan., 1945, 10-34; XXIII (2), Feb., 1945, 95-138). A historical analysis of the position of Canadian trade combinations at common law and under Canadian legislation.
- WILSON, CLIFFORD (ed.). *Papers read before the Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba, season 1944-45*. Winnipeg: Advocate Printers. 1945. Pp. 80. Papers listed separately in this bibliography.

(2) Discovery and Exploration

- DELANGLEZ, JEAN. *The discovery of the Mississippi: Secondary sources* (Mid-America, XXVIII (1), Jan., 1946, 3-22). Examines the *Relation de la Nouvelle France, 1673* and some documents from the papers of the Abbé Claude Bernon, one of the few men in eighteenth-century France versed in the geography of North America.

DELANGLEZ, JEAN. *The Journal of Pierre Vitry, S. J.* (Mid-America, XXVIII (1), Jan., 1946, 23-59). Father Vitry's Journal records an expedition of 1738-40 from the colony of Louisiana against the Chickasaw Indians.

KETCHUM, W. Q. *The fate of Sir John Franklin* (Canadian geographical journal, XXXI (6), Dec., 1945, 300-3). In 1945, the Canadian government commemorated the one hundredth anniversary of the disappearance of Sir John Franklin and his gallant crew in their attempt to master the North-West passage.

PARKER, ELIZABETH. *Early explorers of the West* (Canadian alpine journal, XXIX (1), 1944-5, 20-40). These are the first three chapters—dealing with Alexander MacKenzie, Simon Fraser, and Alexander Henry the younger—of an unpublished work. The remaining chapters will be published in succeeding numbers of the *Alpine Journal*.

(3) New France

GOSSELIN, l'Abbé AUGUSTE. *Mgr de Laval*. Québec: Imprimerie Franciscaine Missionnaire. 1944. Pp. 175. A new edition of a work first published in 1901 under the title, *Le Vénérable François de Montmorency-Laval, premier évêque de Québec*. The present editors point out that this is not considered a definitive history but a work of popularization, re-issued at this time to "popularize the knowledge of Mgr. de Laval and to develop confidence in his intercession." In an introductory letter Cardinal Villeneuve states, "In a word this book, read and meditated upon, can set going the mass movement which alone will bring the beatification and canonization of the Venerable François de Laval." These statements denote clearly the aim of this new edition. The text has been revised and corrected. Two new chapters have been added: an appraisal of Laval as a man and as a Christian (an adaptation of an article by the Abbé Gosselin); a description of some of the "favors obtained through the intercession" of Mgr de Laval, and of the steps taken to advance his beatification. [R. M. SAUNDERS]

LENHART, J. M. *Who kept the Franciscan Recollects out of Canada in 1632?* (Franciscan studies, XXVI (3), Sept., 1945, 277-300). From 1632, when England restored to France her possessions in North America, until 1669, the Recollects were prevented from resuming their missionary activities in the New World. This article discusses the influences at the French court that were responsible for their exclusion from New France during this period.

POULIOT, ADRIEN and GEROUX, T.-EDMOND. *Où est né Louis Jolliet* (B.R.H., LI (9), sept., 1945, 334-46; LI (10), oct., 1945, 359-63). Discusses three possible birth-places—Quebec, Château-Richer, and Beauport.

R[oy], P.-G. *Le Bateau de monsieur l'intendant* (B.R.H., LI (10), oct., 1945, 347-50). The intendant Bigot, during his stay in Quebec, had built for himself a luxurious boat for travelling on the St. Lawrence.

(4) British North America before 1867

L'archiviste. *L'Expédition du Fort Stanwix* (Le Canada français, XXXIII (3), nov., 1945, 217-29). Reproduces a poem from the Archives du Séminaire de Québec of some historic interest for the light it sheds on the French-Canadian expedition against Fort Stanwix in 1777 during the American Revolution.

GARNEAU, FRANÇOIS-XAVIER. *Histoire du Canada*. VII. *La Constitution de 1791, La Guerre de 1812, La Paix de Gand*. VIII. *La Question des subsides, La Crise de 1827, Les quatre-vingt-douze Résolutions*. Montréal: Éditions de l'Arbre. 1945. Pp. 231; 194. All the volumes will be reviewed later.

INGERSOLL, W. E. *Redcoats at Fort Garry* (The beaver, outfit no. 276, Dec., 1945, 14-17). In 1846 a detachment of troops was sent from England to the Red River on the suggestion of Sir George Simpson to afford protection, if necessary, against the growing unrest among the half-breeds, and the threat of war over the Oregon boundary dispute.

- KARPINSKI, L. C. *Early Michigan maps: Three outstanding peculiarities* (Michigan history, XXIX (4), Oct.-Dec., 1945, 506-11). A contribution to the history of Great Lake cartography.
- LUCEY, WILLIAM L. *Loyalists and the American Revolution* (Historical bulletin, XXIV (1), Nov., 1945, 3-4, 13-14). Though the Loyalist exodus meant the loss to the new American nation of considerable culture, political experience, and talent, this drain on national strength was not disastrous.
- MUSHAM, H. A. *Ships that went down to the seas* (Inland seas, I (4), Oct., 1945, 2-13). Deals with the early trading ships on the Great Lakes, and the attempts of their owners to establish direct overseas trade connexions.
- NEEDLER, G. H. *John Galt's dramas: A brief review*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1945. Pp. 39. (50c.)
- PORTER, J. HENRY. *George F. Porter and the second Cass expedition* (Inland seas, I (3), July, 1945, 16-21). In 1826, Governor Lewis Cass of Michigan headed a Great Lakes expedition for the purpose of treating with the Indians and investigating the mineral resources of the region. This is an account of the expedition based on the diary of George F. Porter, a member of the party.
- ROCHELEAU-ROULEAU, C. *Prudent Lajeunesse d'Autremond* (B.R.H., LI (10), oct., 1945, 363-5). Prudent Lajeunesse was a secret agent of the American Congress during the Revolution.
- STEVENS, W. E. *The Michigan fur trade* (Michigan history, XXIX (4), Oct.-Dec., 1945, 489-505). A sketch of the fur trade in the Michigan area during the French, British, and American régimes.
- Timothy Pickering manuscript* (Inland seas, I (4), Oct., 1945, 14-17). A report made by a British sailor to Timothy Pickering, American Secretary of War. It was written in 1795 while Jay's Treaty was pending before the Senate and reflects the state of British armament on Lake Erie and throws some light on the conditions under which the fur trade operated.
- WRIGHT, L. B. (ed.). *An essay upon the government of the English plantations on the continent of America (1701): An anonymous Virginian's proposals for liberty under the British crown, with two memoranda by William Byrd*. San Marino: Huntingdon Library. 1945. Pp. xxiv, 66. (\$2.50)

(5) The Dominion of Canada

- ANGERS, FRANÇOIS-ALBERT. "Le Culte de l'incompétence" (L'action nationale, XXVI (3), nov., 1945, 168-89). The author attacks the prejudice that keeps qualified French Canadians from important executive positions in Canadian business and government.
- *Les propositions fédérales aux provinces; notre problème économique vu d'Ottawa; la répartition des pouvoirs selon le fédéral: le noeud gordien du problème constitutionnel; la répartition des moyens financiers* (L'actualité économique, I (5), oct., 1945, 443-87).
- BISSET, F. W. *Rt. Hon. Sir John Thompson* (Dalhousie review, XXV (3), Oct., 1945, 323-30). A short résumé of the career of Sir John Thompson, who was prime minister of Canada from 1892-4.
- CAMPBELL, ROBERT. *Can Jean Baptiste go to town?* (Canadian business, XVIII (9), Sept., 1945, 38-9, 96). The author examines the political and social factors in Quebec's economic backwardness.
- Canada: Financial stresses in a federal system* (Round table, no. 141, Dec., 1945, 77-84).

- Canadian Catholic Historical Association [La Société canadienne d'histoire de l'Église catholique]. *Report, 1943-4*. Ottawa: The Association. 1945. Pp. 156; 212. (French and English sections.) The 1944 report of the Association includes papers on: "The Ukrainians, their rites, history and religious destiny" by JAMES F. COUGHLIN; "The Irish in Quebec" by The Rev. Brother MEMORIAN SHEEHY; "The Reverend Richard Jackson, missionary to the Sulpicians" by The Rev. JAMES R. DANAHER; "The Most Rev. Thomas L. Connolly, Archbishop of Halifax" by F. J. WILSON; "The early history of St. Michael's parish, Baddeck, Nova Scotia" by ALEXANDER D. MACLEAN; "A critical period in St. Patrick's parish, Montreal—1866-74" by the Rev. GERALD BERRY; "The establishment of St. Patrick's Church in Sherbrooke, Quebec: Its development and influence throughout a period of fifty-seven years" by Mrs. L. E. CODÈRE.
- Canadian Military Institute, Toronto. *Selected papers from the transactions of the Institute, 1944-45 together with report for 1944 and list of members*. No. 39. Toronto: Military Publishing Company. 1945. Pp. 110.
- CLARKE, SIR FRED. *The people of Canada* (United Empire, XXXVI (6), Nov.-Dec., 1945, 221-5). Notes on the author's impressions of Canada.
- COHEN, MAXWELL. *Some pending constitutional issues* (Manitoba bar news, XVII (1), Feb., 1945, 1-6). Discusses the main problems of the Canadian constitution, and possible courses of action to meet the difficulties they present.
- CROSS, AUSTIN F. *Quebec's showcase at Ottawa is all but empty* (Canadian business, XVIII (8), Aug., 1945, 46-7, 124). Quebec is almost bankrupt of leadership at Ottawa today, and the problem of interpreting Quebec to Canada and *vice versa* is being almost completely overlooked.
- DAVIDSON, GEORGE E., ENGLAND, ROBERT, *et al.* *Canada in transition*. (Live and Learn series.) Toronto: Ryerson Press. 1944. Pp. iv, 68. (50c.)
- DICKIE, DONALDA. *The Anglo-Canadian problem* (Canadians all, III (4), Dec., 1945, 13, 68-9). The Anglo-Canadian, the French-Canadian, the Any-race-Canadian problem is the simple but extraordinarily difficult process of getting Canadians to *think* of themselves as Canadians.
- Dominion-Provincial Conference on Reconstruction. *Reference books submitted for the use of the conference: Proposals of the government of Canada; Public investment and capital formation; Comparative statistics of public finance; Personal income taxes; Dominion subsidies to provinces; Corporation taxes; Dominion-provincial co-operative arrangements; Health, welfare and labour; Agriculture; Succession duties; Economic controls; Public investment*. Ottawa: King's Printer. 1945. Pp. 52; 128; 221; 49; 70; 28; 30; 124; 100; 39; 30; 44.
- Dominion-Provincial Conference (1945): *Submissions by the government of the Province of Ontario*. Toronto: King's Printer. Jan., 1946. Pp. 40.
- DOUGLAS, T. C. *Saskatchewan and reconstruction: Address, and the Saskatchewan government presentation to the Dominion Provincial Conference on Reconstruction*. Regina: King's Printer. 1945. Pp. 24.
- EGGLESTON, WILFRID. *Canada's new information board will prove itself by its policies* (Saturday night, LXI (6), Oct. 13, 1945, 8). On September 28, 1945, the Wartime Information Board was dissolved and the Canada Information Service was established in its place, charged broadly speaking with promoting an understanding of things Canadian in other parts of the world.
- *Ottawa and Ontario do not agree on way to provincial autonomy* (Saturday night, LXI (20), Jan. 19, 1946, 8). A discussion of the implications of the Ontario brief presented to the current Dominion-Provincial Conference.

- GARNEAU, CONSTANCE. *Rest of Canada must understand Quebec* (Saturday night, LXI (13), Dec. 1, 1945, 20-b-20-c). A prominent woman thinker of Quebec expresses the view that Canada cannot attain national unity until there is a larger measure of equality between the French and English parts of the country.
- HARN, EDWARD B. *French patterns in Quebec and New England* (New England quarterly, XVIII (4), Dec., 1945, 435-47). A discussion of the French New England outlook and its role in the war.
- HODGETTS, J. E. *Parliament and the powers of the cabinet* (Queen's quarterly, LII (4), winter, 1945-6, 465-77). Discusses two points in connexion with Mr. Ilsley's recent statement on constitutional doctrine—the source of cabinet authority and the right of ministers to withhold information.
- HUTCHISON, BRUCE. *In Canada it's different* (Fortune, XXXII (2), Aug., 1945, 139-43, 198, 201, 203). Despite mistakes and setbacks, Canada's ponderous political system has succeeded in building a great small nation.
- KRITZWISER, H. H. *Don't under-rate the C.C.F.* (Canadian business, XVIII (8), Aug., 1945, 33, 110). A survey of the growth of the C.C.F. and some predictions concerning its future.
- MONETTE, GUSTAVE. *Report of committee on civil liberties* (Canadian bar review, XXII (7), Aug.-Sept., 1944, 598-617). "We wonder if, for Canada, we had not better follow the American procedure, and incorporate these rights and liberties of the subject in our own constitution, for greater guarantee that our democrats will not forget Democracy."
- NICOLET, JEAN. *Le duel fédéral-provincial* (L'action nationale, XXVI (2), oct., 1945, 118-24). A discussion of the August, 1945, Dominion-Provincial Conference.
- PERRAULT, J.-E. *Commission conjointe internationale* (La revue du barreau, IV (1), janv., 1944, 1-9). A discussion of the work of the International Joint Commission formed in 1912 as a result of a desire on the part of both Canada and the United States for a direct and more flexible means of settling boundary disputes.
- PRITCHETT, J. P. (ed.). *Selkirk's return from Assiniboia via the United States to the Canadas, 1817-1818* (Mississippi valley historical review, XXXII (3), Dec., 1945, 399-418). On September 9, 1817, the Earl of Selkirk left Fort Douglas and after a four-months' trip through the United States reached York in Upper Canada. At convenient points along the line of march, he wrote letters to his wife in Montreal, eleven of which are published here for the first time. They contain evidence for some of the critical phases of his career.
- RAND, WILLIAM. *A maritimer talks to the rest of Canada* (Saturday night, LXI (23), Feb. 9, 1946, 18-19). Mr. Rand believes that the Maritime Provinces have been treated with extreme unfairness by the Dominion.
- Royal Society of Canada. *List of officers and members and minutes of proceedings of the Royal Society of Canada, 1945*. Ottawa: The Society. 1945. Pp. iii, 165. The sixty-fourth annual meeting of the Society was held at Queen's University, Kingston, May 21-23, 1945. The business of the Society for the year and the proceedings of the meeting are here given, as well as the presidential address, "Continuity and discontinuity" by J. K. ROBERTSON. Biographical sketches of deceased members contained are the following: "George Sidney Brett (1879-1944)" by CHESTER MARTIN; "A. H. Reginald Buller (1874-1944)" by R. B. THOMSON; "William Bell Dawson (1854-1944)" by JOHN PATTERSON; "William Lawton Goodwin (1856-1941)" by A. L. CLARK; "Charles Hill-Tout (1859-1944)" by MARIUS BARBEAU; "William Howard Martin (1889-1944)" by A. R. GORDON; "Arthur Silver Morton (1870-1945)" by JAMES F. KENNEY; "Walter Charles Murray (1866-1945)" by JAMES S. THOMSON; "Robie Lewis Reid (1866-1945)" by WALTER N. SAGE; "The Honourable William Renwick Riddell (1852-1945)" by E. FABRE SURVEYER; "Professor Stanley Smith (1888-1944)" by R. W. BOYLE; "John Tait (1878-1944)"

by G. W. SCARTH; "Joseph Ellis Thomson (1882-1944)" by H. C. RICKABY; "Edward Arthur Watson (1879-1945)" by J. M. SWAINE.

SANDWELL, B. K. *This alliance of provinces is outside the constitution* (Saturday night, LXI (20), Jan. 19, 1946, 11). Mr. Drew's proposals to solve the fiscal difficulties of Canada by the voluntary co-operation of the nine provinces will not prove acceptable to all provinces and may run into insuperable constitutional obstacles.

SCOTT, F. R. *État fédéral canadien et provinces* (La revue du barreau, IV (2), fév., 1944, 90-102). It is quite possible to make the adjustments in Canada's constitution that are necessary for economic and social progress without jeopardizing the rights of any province or group within the country.

TOSEVIC, S. J. *A European looks at Canada* (Empire digest, III (1), Oct., 1945, 57-61). Mr. Tosevic, a Yugoslav journalist and author who has been in Canada for the past four years, gives some of his impressions of the country.

Training for public administration: A symposium. Part I. *The social sciences and public administration* by R. H. COATS. Part II. *Public administration training at the municipal level* by K. GRANT CRAWFORD. Part III. *Training for administrative posts in the public service of Canada* by CHARLES H. BLAND. Part IV. *The university and the study of public administration* by A. BRADY (C.J.E.P.S., XI (4), Nov., 1945, 499-523).

TUCK, RAPHAEL. *Delegation—A way over the constitutional hurdle* (Canadian bar review, XXIII (2), Feb., 1945, 79-94). Concludes that there is no valid constitutional objection to Dominion-Provincial or Provincial-Dominion delegation of powers and that such delegations may be the means of surmounting the constitutional difficulties in the way of social progress in Canada.

VANIER, ANATOLE. *Une claire idée de patrie* (L'action nationale, XXVI (2), oct., 1945, 85-93). Believes that French Canada should demand either a decentralized federation, which accepts the principle of neutrality in future wars, or political independence.

WOODLEY, E. C. *Federalism: American and Canadian: A survey and comparison* (Culture, VI (4), déc., 1945, 413-21).

Young Men's Committee, National Council of the Y.M.C.A.'s in Canada. *Canada in transition*. (Live and Learn series.) Toronto: Ryerson Press. 1944. Pp. 68. (50c.)

V. PROVINCIAL AND LOCAL HISTORY

(1) The Maritime Province

CAMPBELL, THANE A. *Empire study: History of Prince Edward Island* (Echoes, no. 181, Christmas, 1945, 14, 56). This is the seventh in a series of provincial history sketches published in *Echoes*.

DOULL, JOHN. *The first chief justice of Cape Breton: Richard Gibbons* (Canadian bar review, XXIII (5), May, 1945, 417-23). A sketch of the life and work of Richard Gibbons, who became Attorney-General of Cape Breton in 1781.

GUNN, W. A. *Flag of Nova Scotia dates back to 1625* (Saturday night, LXI (13), Dec. 1, 1945, 21). Nova Scotia has a flag of its own and a Coat of Arms granted by Charles I in 1625.

SQUIRES, W. AUSTIN. *The history and development of the New Brunswick Museum: 1842-1945*. With an introduction by Dr. J. C. WEBSTER. Saint John, N.B.: The New Brunswick Museum. 1945. Pp. 42. To be reviewed later.

(2) The Province of Quebec

COLLINS, F. W. *Canadian cities and towns* (Agricultural and industrial progress in Canada, XXVII (11), Nov., 1945, 168-71). Notes on Lasalle, Abbotsford, and L'Epiphanie, Quebec, and on Little Current, Ontario.

FILTEAU, GÉRARD. *L'Épopée de Shawinigan*. Shawinigan Falls: Guertin and Gignac. 1944. Pp. 427. An able study in local history of the sort that should be multiplied all over Canada for only on the basis of regional and local histories can the full picture of national development be properly based. This volume is admirably illustrated. The historical section, which is the larger part of the work, is accompanied by a considerable number of tributes, anecdotes, reminiscences, and brief descriptive articles by residents and friends of Shawinigan Falls. [R. M. SAUNDERS]

HACKETT, JOHN. *Pierre Basile Mignault* (McGill news, XXVII (2), winter, 1945, 10-11, 61). An obituary article on Judge P. B. Mignault, Montreal judge and author of *Le Droit civil canadien*.

HOLMES, CHARLES E. *Quand la Franc-maçonnerie a-t-elle pénétré au Canada* (B.R.H., LI (6), juin, 1945, 233-5). The author's researches indicate that the first lodge in Quebec was the "Francs-Maçons régénérés" which existed before the Conquest and after it exchanged its French charter for an English one.

L'Inventaire d'un marchand de Québec en 1772 (B.R.H., LI (8), août, 1945, 292-7).

RIOUX, MARCEL. *Blason et langue populaire* (Mémoires de la Société Généalogique Canadienne-Française, I (3), janv., 1945, 160-4). The people of French Canada are observant and imaginative, as is illustrated by the aptness of their descriptive place-names, their satiric soubriquets, and the dialect words of French-Canadian origin.

RUMILLY, ROBERT. *Histoire de la Province de Québec*. XIV. *Sir Lomer Gouin*. XV. *Mgr Bruchési*. XVI. *Défaite de Laurier*. Montréal: Éditions Bernard Valiquette. 1945. Pp. 170; 210; 222. (\$1.25 each) To be reviewed later.

Le Saguenay pittoresque. Le Saguenay historique. Montréal: Éditions Fides. 1945. Pp. 96. (25c. each)

(3) The Province of Ontario

BRAULT, LUCIEN. *Ottawa old and new*. With a foreword by the late H. P. HILL. Ottawa: Ottawa Historical Information Institute. 1946. Pp. 349. (\$3.25) To be reviewed later.

Brief history of the Ontario Regiment: 11th (Res.) Army Tank Regiment (Canadian military journal, XIII (9), Dec., 1945, 13-15, 17).

BROWN, W. RUSSELL. *Ships at Port Arthur and Fort William* (Inland seas, I (4), Oct., 1945, 45-51).

COLLINS, F. W. *Canadian cities and towns* (Agricultural and industrial progress in Canada, XXVII (12), Dec., 1945, 181-4). Notes on Fairville, New Brunswick, Berthierville and Saint Lin, Quebec, and Mattawa, Ontario.

FOX, WILLIAM S. *The Bruce* (Inland seas, I (4), Oct., 1945, 18-22). Deals with the history and navigation of Bruce Peninsula, in Lake Huron.

FULLERTON, AUBREY. *First city utilities were in miniature* (Canadian business, XVIII (12), Dec., 1945, 80-5). Notes on the origins and development of public utilities in several Canadian cities.

JAMESON, SPRUCE. *One hundred and fifty years—ago and since* (Canadian banker, LII, 1945, 103-37). A local-colour sketch of early Toronto, and its subsequent development.

LONDON, FRED. *A military tragedy on Lake Erie* (Inland seas, I (4), Oct., 1945, 37-40). On May 6, 1850, the steamer *Commerce*, putting out from Port Maitland, collided with an incoming vessel and sank with a loss of forty-one lives.

- STEINER, FLORENCE B. *One hundred years of service, 1845-1945: First Unitarian Church, Toronto, Ontario*. Toronto: First Unitarian Church. n.d. Pp. 32. A sketch of the origin, activities, and people associated with the First Unitarian Church of Toronto.

(4) The Prairie Provinces

- DOUGLAS, WILLIAM. *'The Forks' becomes a city* (Papers read before the Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba, season 1944-45, 51-80). An interesting sketch of the development of "The Forks" from a trader's stopping place to the metropolis of Winnipeg.
- SMITH, GORDON L. *Party machines join battle in West* (Financial post, XXXIX (50), Dec. 15, 1945, 13). An analysis of Saskatchewan politics.
- SMYTH, T. TAGGART. *Our great Canadian heritage* (Municipal review of Canada, XLI (10), Oct., 1945, 9-10; XLI (11), Nov., 1945, 6-8). A survey of present conditions and future prospects in Western Canada.
- STEWART, ANDREW. *More farmers for Western Canada*. (Contemporary Affairs series, no. 9.) Toronto: Ryerson Press. 1945. Pp. 32.

(5) British Columbia and the North-west Coast

- Vancouver's first assize, Nov., 1892* (The advocate, part VI, vol. I, Dec., 1943, 189-91).
- WILCOX, WALTER D. *First ascent of Mt. Temple* [in the Canadian Rockies], 1894 (Canadian alpine journal, XXIX (1), 1944-5, 11-19).

(6) North-West Territories, Labrador, and the Arctic Regions

- Arctic survey. VI. The new North-West* by C. A. DAWSON (C.J.E.P.S., XI (4), Nov., 1945, 578-600).
- HORNER, S. G. L. *Atmospheric defence* (The beaver, outfit no. 176, Dec., 1945, 40-2). During the recent war, the Hudson's Bay Company radio stations in the north acted as part of the Aircraft Detection Corps.
- WHITE, SAMUEL ALEXANDER. *Northwest crossing*. New York: Phoenix Press. 1944. Pp. 256. (\$2.00)

(7) Newfoundland

- CAHILL, B. *Cure for a "sick" nation* (Atlantic guardian, I (10), Nov., 1945, 26-7, 39-40). The article on Newfoundland in the October *Magazine Digest* entitled "A Whole Nation is Sick" is unbalanced and unfair, but not unfounded. It is the responsibility of those in authority in Newfoundland to remove the conditions on which such an article can be based.
- LEWIS, D. E. *Saint John's, Newfoundland* (Dalhousie review, XXV (3), Oct., 1945, 331-8). "St. John's, with its strategic position, and its fiery history, has a dauntless record of a people for whom, underlying everything they have ever accomplished, is the grim, determined and frightening battle with a hostile nature. . ."
- The old home town. 5. Topsail* by FLORENCE MILLER. 6. *Burin* by CHARLES J. WHITE. 7. *Curling* by A. L. BARRETT (Atlantic guardian, I (5), May, 1945, 21-5; I (8), Sept., 1945, 16-18, 26-7; I (10), Nov., 1945, 13-15). The former numbers in this series of sketches of present-day Newfoundland towns were listed in the December, 1945, C.H.R., p. 468.
- TAIT, R. H. *Newfoundland is unique!* (Atlantic guardian, I (11), Dec., 1945, 6-12). A sketch of some of the unique features of Newfoundland's location, history, government, population, and resources with special reference to its part in World War II.

VI. GEOGRAPHY, ECONOMICS, SCIENCE, AND STATISTICS

ATWOOD, WALLACE W. *The Rocky Mountains*. Edited by RODERICK PEATTIE. (American Mountain series, vol. III.) New York: The Vanguard Press [Toronto: The Copp Clark Company]. 1945. Pp. 324. This book translates the life history of a mountain range into the language of the layman. It is beautifully illustrated and contains material of interest for the naturalist, the geographer, and the historian as well as the traveller and lover of mountain ranges.

The Canadian scientist. Official publication of the Canadian Association of Scientific Workers. Vol. I, no. 1, Oct., 1945. Pp. 81 (mimeo.).

Canadian Youth Commission. *Youth and jobs in Canada*. Toronto: The Ryerson Press. 1945. Pp. xiv, 223. (\$1.25) In this report the Canadian Youth Commission, a private and independent body established in April, 1943 to study the problems of youth, records its conviction that no real solution to the problem of youth employment is possible apart from national and international policies adequate to ensure a high level of employment at home and abroad. The book is valuable not only to students of the problem but also as material for discussion in youth organizations.

EMORY, FLORENCE H. M. *Public health nursing in Canada: Principles and practice*. Toronto: Macmillan Company. 1945. Pp. xx, 554. (\$3.00)

JACKSON, GILBERT and Associates. *Canada's burden of taxation: Pre-war and post-war: Memorandum for post-war planners*. Toronto: Oxford University Press. 1945. Pp. 24. (25c.)

KERR, T. AINSLIE. *Canada's co-ops*. With a foreword by E. A. CORBETT. Toronto: Ryerson Press. 1945. Pp. 58. (25c.) A descriptive treatise on Canada's co-operative enterprises.

MERCIER, JEAN. *Immigration and provincial rights* (Canadian bar review, XXII (10), Dec., 1944, 856-69). Discusses to what extent a provincial legislature may take counter measures against a Dominion immigration policy that is prejudicial to its interests.

PELLETIER, JOSEPH. *Quinze Jours chez les colons du Nord*. Montréal: "La Diffusion du Livre." Sept., 1942-Dec., 1944. Pp. 126. A series of interesting impressions and anecdotes of the author's sojourn amongst the French-Canadian colonists in northern Quebec ending with a strong plea for better treatment of these people, and for cessation of exploitation of them by "politicians" and "capitalists." [R. M. SAUNDERS]

SHIPLEY, NAN. *Romance of the Bay line* (Canadian national magazine, XXXI (12), Dec., 1945, 10-11). Notes on the history of the Hudson Bay outlet from the Canadian West.

SOMMERVILLE, S. J. *Early Icelandic settlement in Canada* (Papers read before the Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba, season 1944-45, 25-43). Seventy years have passed since the coming of the first Icelanders to Manitoba; their subsequent record of achievement places them among the West's most important pioneers.

WILSON, J. A. *Canada in world aviation* (Public affairs, IX (1), Dec., 1945, 1-6).

VII. EDUCATIONAL HISTORY

BRENNER, JOHN BARTLET. *Scholarship for Canada: The function of graduate studies*. Ottawa: Canadian Social Science Research Council. 1945. Pp. 90. (\$1.00) To be reviewed later.

CHAGNON, MAURICE. *Orientation professionnelle et orientation scolaire* (Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa, XV (4), oct.-déc., 1945, 471-96).

CHAUVIN, F.-X. *Quebec's educational system is unique* (Saturday night, LXI (5), Oct. 6, 1945, 22-3). The Quebec Catholic Colleges are well suited to the temper and background of the people of that province.

KIRKCONNELL, WATSON. *Education in Canada* (Culture, VI (4), déc., 1945, 428-33). "University standards of scholarship and intellectual discipline must be held at the highest possible level, and academic recognition should be open to all the intelligent—and only the intelligent."

LEBEL, MAURICE. *Le Rôle de l'enseignement dans la vie de nos institutions* (Culture, VI (4) déc., 1945, 402-12). The purpose of the article is "faire ressortir quelques-unes des relations qui existent entre le renouveau intellectuel et nos institutions."

— *Les vingt-cinq Ans de l'École normale supérieure de Québec, 1920-1945* (Le Canada français, XXXIII (3), nov., 1945, 175-89).

WALLACE, W. S. *Need for a national library is urgent* (Saturday night, LXI (5), Oct. 6, 1945, 28). Canada is almost the only country in the civilized world that has not a national library and whose government does not seem to realize the urgent need of one.

VIII. RELIGIOUS HISTORY

BERNIER, PAUL. *La Situation présente du catholicisme au Canada*. No. 384. Montréal: École Sociale Populaire. Jan., 1946. Pp. 32. (15c.) Discusses Canadian Roman Catholicism from the historical, demographical, social, and political point of view.

Canadian Youth Commission. *Young Canada and religion*. Toronto: The Ryerson Press. 1945. Pp. xiv, 114. (\$1.00) This report of the Commission concludes that in the wider sense of the term, young Canadians are not irreligious; that the influence of the Church is less effective than it was a generation ago; and that young people who have not an active church association cannot be placed in any one category, some being hostile, some indifferent, some without understanding of religion.

KING, G. B. *Church history resources of Manitoba* (Papers read before the Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba, season 1944-45, 44-50). An appraisal of the resources available for writing the history of the church (particularly of the Presbyterian, Methodist, and Congregational churches that united to form the United Church of Canada) in Manitoba.

MURPHY, Sister MARY. *The Grey Nuns travel west* (Papers read before the Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba, season 1944-45, 3-13). A sketch of some of the early expeditions of the Grey Nuns to the West.

IX. GENEALOGY

Actes de l'état civil relatifs aux Soumande (B.R.H., LI (7), juillet, 1945, 263-75). Various birth, marriage, and death certificates of the Soumande family.

BARBEAU, MARIUS. *Les Baillairgé* (Le Canada français, XXXIII (4), déc., 1945, 243-55). Tells of the Baillairgé family of Quebec who have for several generations been prominent in the fields of sculpture and architecture.

GODBOUT, ARCHANGE. *Études généalogiques: Letendre* (Mémoires de la Société Généalogique Canadienne-Française, I (3), janv., 1945, 187-90). A study of Pierre Letendre, who arrived in Canada about the middle of the seventeenth century, and of the first generation of his descendants.

— *Études généalogiques: Malchelosse* (Mémoires de la Société Généalogique Canadienne-Française, I (3), janv., 1945, 213-15). The author puts forth evidence to substantiate his claim that the Canadian family of this name is originally of Swiss descent.

— *Études généalogiques: Les trois Soeurs Esmard* (Mémoires de la Société Généalogique Canadienne-Française, I (3), janv., 1945, 197-200). "A cause de leurs alliances avec les Michel, les Letardif, les Cloutier et les Couture, il n'est guère de familles de la région de Québec qui ne descendent de quelqu'une des trois soeurs Esmard."

- McCALL, D. T. *Genealogy and history of the Norfolk McCall family and associate descendants, 1796-1946*. The author. 1946. Pp. 215 (mimeo.).
- MASSICOTTE, E.-Z. *L'Aviateur Moissant* (B.R.H., LI (6), juin, 1945, 236). Genealogical notes on the aviator, Jean-Baptiste Moissant, 1875-1911.
- MORISSET, G. *Paul Lambert dit Saint-Paul*. (Collection Champlain.) Québec, Montréal: Éditions Medium. 1945. Pp. 135.
- Officiers du régiment de Béarn* (B.R.H., LI (10), oct., 1945, 352-8).
- Officiers du régiment de Berry* (B.R.H., LI (6), juin, 1945, 223-30).
- Officiers du régiment de Languedoc* (B.R.H., LI (8), août, 1945, 283-9).
- Officiers du régiment de La Sarre* (B.R.H., LI (7), juillet, 1945, 251-60).
- ROY, LÉON. *Études généalogiques: La plus ancienne Famille Langlais* (Mémoires de la Société Généalogique Canadienne-Française, I (3), janv., 1945, 205-13). The early history of two branches of the Langlais family is traced from the time of the arrival of their first Canadian ancestor, Jean-dit-l'Anglais, late in the seventeenth century.
- *Les premiers Colons de Saint-Jean-Port-Joli* (B.R.H., LI (6), juin, 1945, 230-2).
- R[oy], P.-G. *Les Commandants du Fort Saint-Frédéric* (B.R.H., LI (9), sept., 1945, 317-32).

X. BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Anglo-French and Franco-American Studies: A current bibliography*. Reprinted from the Romance Review, Oct., 1945. New York: Columbia University Press. 1945. Pp. 161-90.
- Canada, Wartime Information Board. *List of Dominion government publications, April-June, 1945; July-September, 1945*. Ottawa: The Board. 1945. Pp. 21-34; 35-50.
- University of Toronto Library, Circulation Department. *Canadian periodical index, Jan.-March, 1945* (Ontario library review, XXIX (2), May, 1945, 204-38).
- WILSON, C. P. *Hobby for booklovers* (The beaver, outfit no. 276, Dec., 1945, 7-9). Describes the fine collection of western Canadiana owned by D'Alton C. Coleman, chairman and president of the Canadian Pacific Railway.

XI. ART AND LITERATURE

- BARBEAU, MARIUS. *Henri Masson, peintre de l'Ontarien* (Gants du ciel, 8, juin, 1945, 47-63). An appraisal and criticism of some of Henri Masson's latest work.
- CALLAN, JOHN J. *Charcoals by Reed* (National home monthly, XLVI (8), Aug., 1945, 10-11, 23-4). The story of Bert Reed, Canadian artist, writer, and social worker.
- Canadian literature moves on* (Quill and quire, XII (1), Jan., 1946, 40-3). Canadians have much to hope for from the Canadian novel in future years; its age is not past but coming.
- CHARLESWORTH, HECTOR. *Canadian arts and literature, 1945* (Board of Trade journal, XXXV (12), Dec., 1945, 12-14). A review giving the layman a picture of Canadian achievement in the major arts.
- COULTER, JOHN. *Toward a Canadian theatre* (Canadian review of music and art, IV (1, 2), Aug.-Sept., 1945, 17, 20). Some suggestions for the further development of Canadian drama, made in connexion with the Artists' Brief, which was presented to the federal government in June, 1944.

- DUVAL, PAUL. *Arthur Lismer, Canadian artist, led world in art education* (Saturday night, LXI (6), Oct. 13, 1945, 24-5).
Emily Carr's was a growing art (Saturday night, LXI (9), Nov. 3, 1945, 4-5).
- EMILY CARR: *Her paintings and sketches*. Toronto: Oxford University Press. 1945. Pp. 64. (\$1.00) A handsomely produced book containing a biographical sketch of Emily Carr by Ira Dilworth, an appraisal of her art by Lawren Harris, and twenty-six large size, black and white reproductions of her paintings.
- HARVEY, D. C. *The centenary of John McPherson* (Dalhousie review, XXV (3), Oct., 1945, 343-53). An examination, from the point of view of social and cultural evolution, of John McPherson, a Nova Scotian poet of the Age of Faith.
- LASSERRE, FRED. *A Canadian architect looks at his profession* (Canadian art, III (1), Nov., 1945, 24-9). Discusses the effects of World War II on Canadian architecture.
- MCINNES, GRAHAM. *L'Art d'Emily Carr* (Gants du ciel, 9, automne, 1945, 61-72).
- MACLEOD, MARGARET A., NUTE, GRACE LEE, and WILSON, CLIFFORD. *Peter Rindisbacher: Red River artist* (The beaver, outfit no. 176, Dec., 1945, 30-6). Brings to light new material on one of the earliest artists of the Canadian and American West.
- National Film Board. *The arts in Canada and the film*. Ottawa: The Board. 1945. Pp. 17.
- PACEY, DESMOND. *The novel in Canada* (Queen's quarterly, LII (3), autumn, 1945, 322-31). Mr. Pacey would suggest that the enthusiasm created over recent Canadian novels should be tempered with caution in view of the difficulties and deficiencies that have characterized Canadian fiction in the past.
- ROWE-SLEEMAN, ALICE. *A national theatre for Canada* (Canadians all, III (3), 24, 72-3, 77).
- SCARLETT, E. P. *The medical muse: With a note on Dr. George D. Stewart* (Calgary Associate Clinic historical bulletin, X (2), Aug., 1945, 115-19). Notes on physicians who have written poetry, and on the poetry of the Canadian-born Dr. Stewart.
- SMITH, A. J. M. *Le Nationalisme et les poètes canadiens anglais* (Gants du ciel, 8, juin, 1945, 87-99).
- SOPER, P. LLOYD. *The St. John's Players* (Atlantic guardian, I (8), Sept., 1945, 19-20, 31). This theatrical group was organized in 1937 and has done much for the Little Theatre movement in Newfoundland.
- STANLEY, CARLETON. *Voices in the wilderness* (Dalhousie review, XXV (2), July, 1945, 173-81). A critical analysis of Gwethalyn Graham's *Earth and High Heaven* and of Philip Grove's *Master of the Mill*.
- SUTHERLAND, R. M. *The Labor Arts Guild* (Canadian art, III (1), Nov., 1945, 6-9, 40). The Labor Arts Guild was founded in Vancouver in July, 1944 and "has laid the first foundation on an organized basis for the building of a true Canadian culture of, for, and by the people."
- WOOD, ELIZABETH W. *Canadian handicrafts* (Canadian art, II (5), summer, 1945, 186-94, 207, 225). This is the partial text of an address delivered before the National Arts Club, New York, on March 21, 1945.
- WWICKER, LEROY. *Art in Nova Scotia* (Canadian art, III (1), Nov., 1945, 14-17). Though the bulk of Nova Scotian art remains largely derivative some few native artists are painting their province with a new and more individual understanding.

XII. ETHNOLOGY, ANTHROPOLOGY, AND ARCHAEOLOGY

(Contributed annually since 1925 by Professor T. F. McIlwraith.)

ADNEY, E. TAPPAN. *The Malecite Indian's names for native berries and fruits, and their meanings* (Acadian naturalist, I (3), May, 1944, 103-10). A list of Malecite Indian plant names, with a description of the uses of each plant, a translation of the name, and a note on the grammatical processes involved in plant terminology.

Among the Innu (Beaver, outfit 275, March, 1945, 24-9). A series of beautiful photographs of Eskimo and their life.

ANDREEV, A. I., and KRACHKOVSKI, I. Y. (eds.). *Russkie otkrytiia v tikhom okeane i severnoi Amerike v XVIII-XIX vekakh.* (Russian discoveries in the Pacific Ocean and North America in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.) Moscow-Leningrad: Akademia Nauk SSSR. 1944. Pp. 224. A collection of hitherto unpublished documents concerning Russian colonial expansion during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. This volume deals extensively with the activities of early trading companies in Alaska.

ANDREWS, CLARENCE L. *Wm. T. Lopp* (Alaska life, VII (8), 1944, 49-54). A description of the work of a pioneer missionary teacher among the Eskimo.

AVERKIEVA, Y. P. *Rabstvo u indeitsev severnoi Ameriki.* (Slavery among the Indians of North America.) Moscow-Leningrad: Akademia Nauk SSSR. 1941. Pp. 101. A careful analysis of north-west coast Indian slavery viewed in the light of Marxian philosophy.

BARBEAU, MARIUS. *The Aleutian route of migration into America* (Geographical review, XXXV (3), 1945, 424-43). Resemblances both in myth and practice in Asia, the Aleutian Islands, and the north-west coast of America show that an important route of migration to the New World was through the Aleutian Islands.

Arts et métiers d'autrefois (Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa, XV (4), Oct.-Déc., 1945, 497-500). A short note on the crafts developed by the French pioneers of Quebec.

Ceintures flechées (20^e siècle, Ottawa, III (4), Déc., 1944, 84, 85, 92). An interesting description of the history of the *ceinture flechée*, the woven sash so well-known in Quebec; it was traded widely to Indians and others in the early part of the last century.

The house that Mac built (Beaver, outfit 276, Dec., 1945, 10-3). The log cabin, consisting of round logs fitted at the corners, was a style of architecture introduced by Scandinavians of Delaware Bay and spread westward only in the nineteenth century. The houses built by the Hudson's Bay Company were of "posts on the sill" type, derived from France.

Modalité dans nos mélodies populaires (Mémoires de la Société Royale du Canada, XXXVIII, Sec. 1, 1944, 15-25). A thoughtful study of the form and music of French folk-songs in the Province of Quebec.

Saintes artisanes: I—les brodeuses. (Cahiers d'art arca, 2.) Montréal: Éditions Fides. 1943. Pp. 116. A scholarly description of the history of weaving and embroidery in Quebec, especially of the work of Ursuline sisters in the seventeenth century, and including a chapter on porcupine quill-work and birch-bark embroidery.

BASAURI, CARLOS. *El psicoanálisis y la etnografía* (América indígena, IV (4), Oct., 1944, 265-73). Psychoanalytical studies and techniques are particularly important in evaluating the spiritual life of the American Indians, since the break-down of their culture owing to the advent of the white man has left them subject to mental stresses and strains.

BEAUGRAND-CHAMPAGNE, ARISTIDE. *Les Maladies et la médecine des anciens Iroquois* (Les Cahiers des dix, no. 9, Montréal, 1944, 227-42). A general and discursive description of Iroquois diseases and their treatment.

La Poterie iroquoise (Les Cahiers des dix, no. 8, Montréal, 1943, 267-84). A non-technical description of Iroquois pottery and its manufacture, culled largely from some of the older sources.

- BERLÍN, HEINRICH. *El indígena frente al estado* (América indígena, IV (4), Oct., 1944, 275-80). A plea for governmental protection and for co-operation with Indians in current problems of cultural adjustment.
- BIRD, JUNIUS B. *Archaeology of the Hopedale area, Labrador* (Anthropological papers of the American Museum of Natural History, XXXIX (2), 1945, 119-86). Eskimo material from the vicinity of Hopedale indicates an occupancy of no more than 400 years. The artifacts have many resemblances to those of the Dorset Eskimo culture, and do not appear to be directly ancestral to the tools of the modern Labrador Eskimo. This paper embodies the results of one of the few competent archaeological investigations on the northern Atlantic coast.
- BRAND, DONALD D. *The present Indian population of the Americas* (New Mexico anthropologist, VI-VII (4), Oct., Nov., Dec., 1943, [printed, Dec., 1944] 161-70). A scholarly appraisal, based on census returns and estimates, of the size of the Indian and part-Indian population of North and South America.
- BURBANK, E. A. *Burbank among the Indians*. Caldwell, Idaho: The Caxton Printers. 1944. Pp. 232. The reminiscences of a distinguished portrait artist whose subjects have included many Indians.
- BURGESS, J. ALLAN. *Property concepts of the Lac-St-Jean Montagnais* (Primitive man, XVIII (1, 2), Jan., April, 1945, 1-25). A description of the rather obscure systems of land tenure, and of personal and incorporeal property rights, among the Montagnais of Lake St. John, Quebec.
- *The spirit wigwam as described by Tommie Moar, Pointe Bleue* (Primitive man, XVII (3, 4), July, Oct., 1944, 50-3). A description of a shaking tent and its use by the Mistassini, north of Lake St. John.
- C., K. *Chief Reuben Bull speaks* (The Canadian forum, XXV (297), Oct., 1945, 158). The formation of the Indian Association of Alberta and comparable organizations indicates a growth of group consciousness on the part of Canadian Indians.
- CASSETTER, EDWARD F. *The domain of ethnobiology* (American naturalist, LXXVIII (775), March-April, 1944, 158-70). A summary of the history and scope of ethnobiology, a field of study which straddles the disciplines of biology and anthropology, with particular reference to the place of animals in the cultural life of primitive peoples.
- CHARLTON, J. L. *English River hermit* (Beaver, outfit 276, Sept., 1945, 28-9). A brief description of an Indian who has lived alone in northern Ontario for some twenty-five years, having practically no contact either with his fellows or with the white man.
- COBB, W. MONTAGUE. *Bibliography in physical anthropology: July 1, 1943 through June 30, 1944* (American journal of physical anthropology (II) [old series, vol. XXXI] (4), Dec., 1944, 381-421). A comprehensive, well-arranged bibliography of physical anthropology.
- COLLIER, DONALD. *Conjuring among the Kiowa* (Primitive man, XVII (3, 4), July, Oct., 1944, 45-9). A brief description of a type of conjuring among the Kiowa with comparative data from other tribes of the northern Plains.
- COLLIER, JOHN. *Collier's commentary on Miss Sazl, communication* (América indígena, V (3), Julio, 1945, 255). A final note on conflicting points of view advanced by Miss Sazl and the author.
- *Indianismo vs. racism?* (América indígena, V (3), Julio, 1945, 241-6). A thoughtful commentary on the question of whether or not claims of rights for Indians, as Indians, especially in Alaska, are likely to promote an attitude of racism towards Indians.
- *United States Indian administration as a laboratory of ethnic relations* (Social research, XII (3), Sept., 1945, 265-303). A brilliant summary of United States government policy in regard to Indians, showing the results of well formulated policy, and the crippling effects of stagnation and intolerance.

- COLLINS, H. B., CLARK, A. H., AND WALKER, E. H. *The Aleutian Islands: Their people and natural history*. (Smithsonian Institution, war background studies, 21.) Washington: Smithsonian Institution. February 5, 1945. Pp. 131. Included in this general account of the Aleutian Islands is a description by Collins of the aboriginal inhabitants, the Aleuts, their culture, and the history of their contact with Europeans.
- COOPER, JOHN M. *The shaking tent rite among Plains and Forest Algonquians* (Primitive man, XVII (3, 4), July, Oct., 1944, 60-84). A valuable summary of the distribution and principal variants of the conjuror's wigwam ritual, a shamanistic practice occurring among many of the Algonkian-speaking tribes of north-eastern Canada, as well as some of the Plains groups.
- *Tête-de-Boule Cree* (International journal of American linguistics, XI (1), Jan., 1945, 36-44). Linguistic analysis proves that the language of the Tête de Boule of the upper St. Maurice River, Quebec, belongs to the Cree group of the Algonkian languages.
- CROWELL, SAMUEL P. *Rites of the aborigines* (Northwest Ohio quarterly, XVI (3-4), 1944, 147-56).
- DAVENPORT, C. B. *The dietaries of primitive peoples* (American anthropologist, XLVII (1), Jan.-March, 1945, 60-82). A scholarly study of the extreme diversity of food habits among selected primitive peoples; the Eskimo are among the groups included.
- DAVIDSON, JOHN F. *Ojibwa songs* (Journal of American folklore, LVIII (230), Oct.-Dec., 1945, 303-5). The music and texts of a number of Ojibwa songs from Manitoulin Island and the north shore of Lake Huron, an area largely overlooked in Ojibwa studies.
- DAWSON, C. A. *Arctic survey. VI. The new North-West* (C.J.E.P.S., XI (4), Nov., 1945, 578-600). The concluding section of this article comprises an acute commentary on the unsatisfactory conditions prevailing among the Indians of the North West Territories, and a strong plea for a new orientation on Indian policy.
- DELORIA, ELLA. *Speaking of Indians*. New York: Friendship Press. 1944. Pp. xii, 163. A sympathetic and able study, by an Indian, of Indian problems of today. Though written with reference to the American field, the principles involved are as pertinent for Canada as the United States. After a general introduction, the author uses specific illustrations from the Dakota of the northern Plains, showing the demoralizing and lethargy-producing effects of reservation life in the breakdown of traditional masculine occupations. The values of the old life, the emphasis on generosity rather than bargaining, and the responsibility for relatives, have been limiting factors on individual success in a western competitive society. The war has given an opportunity for service to young men and women, an opportunity eagerly grasped, but it opens up new problems of economic adjustment. The author pays high tribute to the work of Christian missionaries.
- DENSMORE, FRANCES. *The origin of a Siwash song* (American anthropologist XLVII (1), Jan.-March, 1945, 173-5). Attention is drawn to an article in *The Cornhill Magazine* for May, 1934 (cited in this bibliography, C.H.R., March, 1935, 120) in which it is shown that a woman's song used at potlatches by the Kwakiutl of northern Vancouver Island is really an English popular music-hall song of the late eighteenth century. It must have been learnt from one of Vancouver's sailors in 1794 and transmitted orally since that time.
- DODGE, ERNEST S. *Notes from Six Nations on the hunting and trapping of wild turkeys and passenger pigeons* (Journal of the Washington Academy of Sciences, XXXV (11), Nov. 15, 1945, 342-3). Several of the older Indians on the Grand River Reservation remember a few details of the hunting of wild turkeys and passenger pigeons. Apparently different methods were used by the Iroquois, the Delaware, and the Ojibwa.

- DOERING, J. FREDERICK. *More folk customs from western Ontario* (Journal of American folklore, LVIII (228), April-June, 1945, 150-5). A series of beliefs and practices, especially ones which have survived into the second generation of Canadian-born, from Waterloo and adjacent counties.
- DOREY, GEORGE. *Wardship and Indians of Canada* (Eastern Regional Conference of the Fellowship of Indian Workers, Thomas Indian School, Iroquois, N.Y., Oct. 20-22, 1944 [Addresses], 29-30). A brief summary of some of the problems involved in the legal status of the Indians of Southern Ontario.
- DÚASON, JÓN. *Landkönnun og landnám Islendinga í Vesturheimi*. Reykjavik: 1941-4. 2 vols. Pp. 1,024. A monumental study of Icelandic exploration and penetration to Greenland, and, thence, to North America. The author believes that the Tunnit, a people who preceded the Eskimo in the eastern Arctic, and who are generally considered to have been an earlier Eskimo strain, were really Icelanders, a thesis supported by resemblances between their artifacts and those of Iceland.
- EISELEY, LOREN C. *Indian mythology and extinct fossil vertebrates* (American anthropologist, XLVII (2), April-June, 1945, 318-20). In accordance with existing knowledge, eighteenth-century discoveries of fossil bones were regarded as interesting proofs of strange contemporary animals or of the biblical behemoth; such interpretations may well have coloured current Indian myths which suggest such creatures. Only the recovery of bones from archaeological deposits can prove the contemporaneity of man and extinct mammals.
- *The mastodon and early man in America* (Science, CII (2,640), August 3, 1945, 108-10). Although the mastodon may have survived into post-glacial times, there is no evidence of its existence in archaeologically recent horizons in north-eastern America.
- *Myth and mammoth in archaeology* (American antiquity, XI (2), Oct., 1945, 84-7). Indian myths describing elephant-like creatures have been cited as evidence of the survival of the mammoth into recent times; the author points out that conditions in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries favoured the development of such myths, owing to the uncritical interest of Europeans in fossil bones, as well as the presence of negro slaves familiar with elephants.
- EWERS, JOHN C. *Blackfeet crafts*. (Indian handicrafts, 9.) Washington: United States Indian Service, Education Division. 1945. Pp. 66. (50c.) This is one of the admirable publications issued by the United States Indian Service, primarily for use in Indian schools but worthy of wider circulation. It describes the crafts of the Blackfoot, of which the most important are skin working, quill-work, bead-work, and painting. The intricate details of each of these manufactures are lucidly explained, and the designs are well illustrated.
- *The case for Blackfoot pottery* (American anthropologist, XLVII (2), April-June, 1945, 289-99). New evidence, both historical and ethnological, indicates that pottery was formerly made by the Blackfoot of Montana and Alberta, a view contrary to that generally held.
- *Food rationing is nothing new to the Blackfoot* (Masterkay, XVIII (3), May, 1944, 73-80). A note on Blackfoot food habits and the distribution of available supplies in time of scarcity.
- FENTON, WILLIAM N. *Simeon Gibson: (1889-1913). Informant on the Iroquois ritual of condolence* (Cranbrook Institute of Science news letter, XIII (6), Feb., 1944, 5-7). An obituary of Simeon Gibson, a Cayuga Indian of the Grand River Reservation, who had assisted many ethnologists and who was responsible for help in interpreting the drawings on an Iroquois cane in the Cranbrook Institute.
- FLURE, H. J. *The distribution of types of skin color* (Geographical review, XXXV (4), Oct., 1945, 580-95). The skin colour of man throughout the world shows a certain correlation with climate, but the trends of modification in the New World seem to have been established before the drifts of man from Asia to America took place.
- FORD, CLELLAN STEARNS. *A comparative study of human reproduction*. (Yale University publications in anthropology, 32.) New Haven: Yale University Press. 1945.

Pp. 111. As part of a comprehensive comparative study of human behaviour, the practices of sixty-four tribes in different parts of the world were studied in respect to sexual life, theories of conception, childbirth, and kindred topics. The Kwakiutl of British Columbia and the Copper Eskimo were the Canadian tribes included.

GARFIELD, VIOLA E. *A research problem in northwest Indian economics* (American anthropologist, XLVII (4), Oct.-Dec., 1945, 626-30). Petitions to the United States Department of the Interior disclose a lack of detailed knowledge concerning the exact composition of Alaskan Indian land-owning groups, about the ownership of fishing and hunting and other areas of economic value—and of how these were transmitted or shared in reference to the potlatch system.

GEARY, JAMES A. *Algonquian nasaump and napōpi: French loanwords?* (Language XXI (1), Jan.-March, 1945, 40-5). Comparative studies prove that two New England Algonkian Indian words recorded in 1643 are of French origin, indicating significant contact with French settlements to the north.

GODESELL, PHILIP H. *The trail of Tamowenuk* (Alberta folklore quarterly, I (3), Sept., 1945, 74-8). A description, written in very popular style, of a brawl between Eskimo and Caribou-Eater Indians in the vicinity of Fort Fitzgerald.

GOLDFRANK, ESTHER S. *Changing configurations in the social organization of a Blackfoot tribe during the reserve period*. (Monographs of the American Ethnological Society, VIII.) New York: J. J. Augustin. 1945. Pp. 73. This volume comprises an historico-ethnological study of the changes that have taken place among the Blood of Alberta since the period of white dominance, and particularly since the Reservation period of 1877. Their culture was based on bison-hunting, a highly competitive individual pursuit in which, however, social co-operation was essential. Reservation life with an economy based on herding and agriculture has had far-reaching effects on all aspects of their social organization, as well as upon individual attitudes.

GRANT, RENA V. *Chinook jargon* (International journal of American linguistics, XI (4), Oct., 1945, 225-33). A comprehensive study of Chinook jargon, theories of its origin, its history, and the principal features of its morphology and grammar.
 ———. *The Chinook jargon, past and present* (California folklore quarterly, III, 1944, 259-76). An historical study of Chinook jargon, including a list of Chinook words that have become current in British Columbia.

HALLOWELL, A. IRVING. *The Rorschach technique in the study of personality and culture* (American anthropologist, XLVII (2), April-June, 1945, 195-210). A scholarly study of the advantages of the Rorschach technique in the study of personality among primitive peoples, with special reference to the Saulteaux of the Manitoba-Ontario border.

HAMILTON, A. H. *Music of the North American Indians* (Etude, LXIII, July, 1945, 376 seq.)

HANKS, L. M. JR., and RICHARDSON, JANE. *Observations on northern Blackfoot kinship*. (Monographs of the American Ethnological Society, IX.) New York: J. J. Augustin. 1945. Pp. 31. A detailed study of kinship terminology among the northern Blackfoot, with a comparison and analysis of the theoretical considerations involved.

HARPER, ALLAN G. *Canada's Indian administration: Basic concepts and objectives* [sic] (América indígena, V (2), April, 1945, 119-32). A valuable, objective summary of the principles, aims, and problems of Indian administration in Canada, written for a Mexican journal by an experienced American scholar and Indian administrator.

HARRINGTON, JOHN P. *Phonematic daylight in Lhiinkit, Navajo of the north* (Journal of the Washington Academy of Sciences, XXXV (1), Jan. 15, 1945, 1-6). Sounds found in the language of the Lhiinkit (Tlingit) of the Alaskan Panhandle closely resemble those of the Navaho of New Mexico, confirming the hypothesis of Boas and Sapir that there is a genetic relationship between the two.

- HARRINGTON, M. R. *Hiawatha's peace league* (Pennsylvania archaeologist, XV (3), July, 1945, 70-4). A brief and popular description of the origin and scope of the League of the Iroquois.
- HAWKINS, GRACE. *Some ways of managing Indians around Detroit in early days* (Michigan history, XXIX (2), April-May-June, 1945, 198-203). Extracts from the Cadillac Papers show how the French used beads, brandy, and other trade goods in the early eighteenth century to win favour with the Indians of the Great Lakes region, and prevent them from being lured to the English traders. This an interesting description of trading practices and ethics of the period.
- HERMANNSSON, HALLDÓR. *The Vinland sagas*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press. 1944. Pp. xiv, 78. A critical edition of the sagas, with commentary and notes.
- HEWITT, J. N. B. and FENTON, WILLIAM N. *Some mnemonic pictographs relating to the Iroquois condolence council* (Journal of the Washington Academy of Sciences, XXXV (10), Oct. 15, 1945, 301-15). A description of mnemonic notes made and used by an Iroquois Indian in connexion with one of the elaborate Iroquois rituals on the Grand River Reservation. The drawings were essentially an *aide memoire*, partly symbolic in character.
- HIBBEN, FRANK C. *We found the home of the first American* (Saturday evening post, CCXVII (41), April 7, 1945, 11, 35, 37). A popular, but authoritative, account of archaeological discoveries in a stratified cave in the Sandia mountains of New Mexico, giving evidence of human occupancy some 10,000 years before the date of Folsom man, previously considered the oldest New World type. This means that America was inhabited about 25,000 years ago.
- HINZ, JOHN. *Grammar and vocabulary of the Eskimo language as spoken by the Kuskokwim and southwest coast Eskimos of Alaska*. Bethlehem, Pa.: Society for Propagating the Gospel of the Moravian Church. 1944. Pp. xiii, 194. An analysis of one of the dialects of Alaskan Eskimo, valuable both for comparative data, and as a study of a specific language. This is particularly valuable in view of the little linguistic material that has been available from this area.
- HONIGMANN, JOHN J. *Northern and southern Athapaskan eschatology* (American anthropologist, XLVII (3), July-Sept., 1945, 467-9). A brief tabular comparison of certain aspects of Navaho and Sarsi (Alberta) beliefs concerning ghosts and witchcraft.
- *On the Alaska highway* (The Dalhousie review, XXIII (4), Jan., 1944, 400-8). A thoughtful article on changing conditions among the Athabaskan-speaking tribes of the Yukon, changes accelerated by the building of the Alaska Highway.
- and IRMA. *Drinking in an Indian-White community* (Quarterly journal of studies on alcohol, V (4), March, 1945, 575-619). A comprehensive study of drinking habits, motivation, social attitudes, and psychological aspects among both whites and Athabaskan-speaking Indians in a small settlement on the Alaska Highway.
- HOWELLS, WILLIAM. *Mankind so far*. (American Museum of Natural History science series, 5.) Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Doran, and Company. 1945. Pp. xii, 319. A lucid, witty, and well-written description of the development of man, explain in non-technical language his evolution from earliest times to the various "races" of today. His chapter on the American Indians is a particularly useful summary of their origin and diversity in type.
- *The origins of American Indian race types*. (In the *Maya and their neighbours*, New York, D. Appleton-Century Company, 1940, 3-9.) An analysis of the basic factors underlying the racial affinities of the American Indian.

Institute opens hall of man and his culture (Cranbrook Institute of Science news letter, XV (3), Nov., 1945, 26-32). A description of a new gallery at the Cranbrook Institute of Science with photographs of outstanding Indian specimens, some of them from Canada.

JAEGER, ELLSWORTH. *Nature adorned the Indian tepee* (Nature magazine, XXXVIII (10), Dec., 1945, 545-6). A note on the use of animal and star designs, and their significance, in the painted decoration of the tipis of the Indians of the Plains.

JOBLIN, E. E. M. *Social conditions among the Indians of Ontario* (Eastern Regional Conference of the Fellowship of Indian Workers, Thomas Indian School, Iroquois, N.Y., Oct. 20-22, 1944 [Addresses], 11-17). A general description of social and economic conditions among the Indians of Southern Ontario today.

JURY, WILFRID. *Fairfield on the Thames*. (Bulletin of the museums, no. 3, University of Western Ontario.) London: University of Western Ontario. 1945. Pp. 35. In 1792 Moravian missionaries settled with a number of Indian followers at Fairfield on the Thames, establishing a village which was destroyed in the War of 1812. This historic site has been excavated in a thorough, scientific manner by the author and the publication of this report on the work is a credit to the University of Western Ontario as well as to Mr. Jury.

— *Have you any Indian relics?* (Ontario library review and Canadian periodical index, XXVIII (4), Nov., 1944, 388-92). A plea for the acceptance and adequate display of Indian material as a normal part of library activities.

KENNEDY, G. A. *The last battle* (Alberta folklore quarterly, I (2), June, 1945, 57-60). A description, reprinted from the *Lethbridge News* of April 30, 1890, of a fight between the Blackfoot and the Cree in 1870, said to have been the last battle between Indian tribes in Canada.

KIETHAHN, EDWARD L. *Igloo tales*. (Alaska series, 1.) Washington: United States Indian Service, Education Division. 1944. Pp. 122. (90c.) This is a delightful collection of stories assembled by a teacher with the aid of his Eskimo school children in Alaska. They are recorded in simple, readable English and illustrated with imagination in Eskimo style, by an Eskimo artist. This volume is brought out in conformity with the policy of the United States Indian Service in describing aspects of native life as part of the government's educational system.

KIHN, W. LANGDON. *Totem-pole builders* (National geographic magazine, LXXXVII (1), Jan., 1945, 33-48). A series of striking paintings of north-west coast Indians and their activities. Painted to illustrate customs which have passed away, such as whaling from dug-out canoes, the artist shows accuracy and care, as well as imagination and artistic skill, in his depictions.

KROEBER, A. L. *Anthropological research in Ibero-America and Anglo-America* (Congreso Internacional de Americanistas, XXVII (1), 1942, 81-91). In Canada and the United States the Indian population is numerically and culturally unimportant, whereas it is a dominant element in all the countries south of the Rio Grande. Corresponding to this basic fact, anthropological investigation in the north has dealt largely with survivals, or with decaying cultures, necessitating techniques unnecessary in Middle and South American work.

LACOURCIÈRE, LUC. *Les Études de folklore français au Canada* (Culture, VI (1), mars, 1945, 3-9). Relatively neglected until recently, there is now considerable activity in the field of folklore in Quebec; significant of this interest is the establishment of a Chair of Folklore at Laval University.

LAVIOLETTE, GONTRAN. *The Sioux Indians in Canada*. Regina: Marian Press. 1944. Pp. iv, 138. Reviewed in C.H.R., XXVI (2), June, 1945, 203-4.

LEECHMAN, DOUGLAS. *Igloo and tupik* (Beaver, outfit 275, March, 1945, 36-39). A popular, well-illustrated description of the various types of house used by the Eskimo.

- LEECHMAN, DOUGLAS. *The savages of James Bay* (Beaver, outfit 276, June, 1945, 14-7). A brief, illustrated description of the Cree Indians of James Bay.
- LEFEBVRE, JEAN-JACQUES. *Deux Descriptions ethnographiques des Canadiens* (B.R.H., LI (1, 2), janv.-fév., 1945, 75). In 1930 there appeared in the *Larousse du XX^e siècle* a misleading note on the racial composition of the Canadian people. Presumably as a result of a protest, the note was revised in the 1934 edition.
- LINDQUIST, G. E. E. *The Indian in American life*. New York: Friendship Press. 1944. Pp. xi, 180, map. The Indians of both Canada and the United States are facing economic and social problems in a changing world. The author describes many of their legal advantages and disadvantages in both countries, showing the extent to which these depend on their history and on the history of white-Indian contacts. Similar chapters discuss economic conditions, health, education, and, rather more extensively, the contribution of Christianity to Indian life. A chapter on the culture areas of North America, as a background for understanding the varied problems of the American Indians, is contributed by Dr. Erna Gunther.
- LOPATIN, IVAN A. *Social life and religion of the Indians in Kūimat, British Columbia*. (The University of Southern California social science series, 26.) Los Angeles: University of Southern California. 1945. Pp. 118, 13 illus., 1 map. To be reviewed later.
- LOWIE, ROBERT H. *American contributions to anthropology* (Science, C (2,598), Oct. 13, 1944, 321-7). A scholarly summary and appraisal of the contributions of American anthropologists to the science throughout the world.
- LYFORD, CARRIE A. *The crafts of the Ojibwa*. (Indian handicrafts, 5.) Washington: United States Office of Indian Affairs, Education Division. 1943. Pp. 216. (50c.) This is one of the series of pamphlets issued by the United States Office of Indian Affairs describing adequately, but in simple language, the crafts of a particular area. Houses, food preparation, the manufacture of bows and arrows, canoes, drums, snow-shoes, and baskets, the preparation of skin and twine, various types of weaving, and bead-work are among the subjects included. There is a particularly good chapter on art, with a long series of designs. This volume was prepared primarily for use in Indian schools, but the bringing together of the material from diverse sources makes it a valuable volume to the anthropologist and, conversely, shows the value of anthropological data in education. The processes are beautifully illustrated, largely from data collected in Wisconsin and Minnesota, but as the Ojibwa are a tribe of western Ontario woodlands as well as of adjacent states south of the American border, this volume serves as a convenient and authoritative handbook for Canada as well as the United States.
- Iroquois crafts*. (Indian handicrafts, 6.) Washington: United States Indian Service, Education Division. 1945. Pp. 97. 50c. This is one of a series of volumes prepared for use in Federal Indian schools by utilizing illustrations and descriptions of Indian crafts in the education of Indian children. The author describes post-Columbian Iroquois houses, foods, clothing, ritual objects, and games, as well as the earlier use of bone, clay, wood, and bark. There is a particularly good chapter on art, well illustrated with designs.
- MACLEOD, MARGARET ARNETT, NUTE, GRACE LEE, and WILSON, CLIFFORD. *Peter Rindisbacher Red River artist* (Beaver, outfit 276, Dec., 1945, 30-6). A symposium on the life and work of Peter Rindisbacher, who came to the Red River Settlement in 1821. His drawings are the first accurate depictions of Indian life in what is now Manitoba.
- MCGILL, H. W. *Indian Affairs Branch* (in Canada, Dept. of Mines and Resources, *Report of the Department of Mines and Resources, including Report of Soldier Settlement of Canada, for the fiscal year ended March 31, 1944, 148-79*, Ottawa, King's Printer, 1945). An improvement in the economic conditions of the Indians of Canada is reflected in the annual government report on Indian affairs. The customary details of population, occupation, income, and health are ably reported.

- MCGILL UNIVERSITY MUSEUMS. *Indians of Canada*. Montreal: McGill University Museums. 1945. 1 sheet. A brief leaflet, showing the location of the principal Indian tribes of Canada and significant elements of their culture.
- MANGELSDORF, P. C., and REEVES, R. G. *The origin of maize: Present status of the problem* (American anthropologist, XLVII (2), April-June, 1945, 235-43). A further contribution to the vexed problem of the origin of maize.
- MANNING, T. H. and E. W. *The preparation of skins and clothing in the eastern Canadian Arctic* (The polar record, XXVIII, July, 1944, 156-69). A thorough and practical description of the preparation of skins and the manufacture of clothing, with patterns included, among the Eskimo of the eastern Arctic.
- MARSH, D. B. *Atamaoya* (Beaver, outfit 276, Sept., 1945, 44-5). Photographs and notes on the gathering and preparation of ground cranberry leaves, which are smoked by the Eskimo.
- MARTINEZ DEL RIO, PABLO. *The antiquity of maize cultivation in America* (Congreso Internacional de Americanistas, XXVII (1), 1942, 92-5). Botanists believe that the cultivation of maize must have been begun at an earlier period than is usually allowed by archaeologists; the author points out that certain practices in planting and seed selection may have accelerated the biological modifications which would harmonize botanical and archaeological dating.
- MELANÇON, CLAUDE. *La Mythologie des Bella-Coola* (Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa, XV (2), avril-juin, 1945, 180-97). A somewhat philosophical discussion of Bella Coola (British Columbia) mythology, as recorded by Boas many years ago, in which the author points out resemblances in style, scope, and content to the classical legends of Greece and Rome.
- MIDDLETON, S. H. *The story of the Blood Indians* (Alberta folklore quarterly, I (3), Sept., 1945, 85-8). A popular and non-scientific description of the Blood Indians of Alberta.
- MOORE, ANDREW. *Arctic survey. II. Survey of education in the Mackenzie district* (C.J.E.P.S., XI (1), Feb., 1945, 61-82). A careful study of educational facilities in the Mackenzie valley, with specific long-term suggestions for their improvement. Indian and white problems are both considered.
- NADEAU, GABRIEL. *Indian scalping technique in different tribes* (Ciba symposia, V (10), Jan., 1944, 1,677-81). An analysis and description of various methods of scalping, complete and partial, practised in different areas of North America.
- NICHOLSON, GEORGE. *Ungava Bay* (Canadian churchman, LXXII (2-9), Jan. 11-March 1, 1945). A series of descriptions of missionary activities.
- NORCROSS, E. BLANCHE. *The Cowichan sweater* (Beaver, outfit 276, Dec., 1945, 18-19). Utilizing black sheep's wool, the Cowichan Indians of Vancouver Island have developed a distinctive type of knitted sweater which is proving a valuable economic asset to their small community.
- PARKER, ARTHUR C. *The Six Nations look at wardship* (Eastern Regional Conference of the Fellowship of Indian Workers, Thomas Indian School, Iroquois, N.Y., Oct. 20-22, 1944 [Addresses], 24-8). A thoughtful commentary on the advantages, disadvantages, and effects of wardship among the Iroquois of New York State.
- PAUL, FRANCES. *Spruce root basketry of the Alaska Tlingit*. (Indian handicrafts, 8.) Washington: United States Indian Service, Education Division. 1944. Pp. 80. (50c.) This is a masterly and well illustrated description of Tlingit spruce-root basketry, a skilled craft that has almost disappeared. Full details are given of the selection, collection, and preparation of materials; of the shapes, uses, and reputed origins of different types of baskets and basketry hats; of the weaves; and of the designs and their names. This is one of the excellent hand-books prepared primarily

for use in United States Indian schools, but it is a volume which warrants wider recognition.

POLLARD, LANCASTER. *A Pacific Northwest bibliography* (Pacific Northwest quarterly, XXXVI (2), April, 1945, 133-42). A historical bibliography of the North-West containing a section on anthropology.

QUIMBY, GEORGE I. JR. *Aleutian Islanders*. (Chicago Natural History Museum, anthropology leaflet, 35.) Chicago: Chicago Natural History Museum. 1944. Pp. 48. An attractive and well-illustrated description of the Aleuts, a specialized group of Eskimo whose culture declined rapidly as a result of European contact and about whom little information has been available in accessible form.

— *Periods of prehistoric art in the Aleutian Islands* (American antiquity, XI (2), Oct., 1945, 76-9). Artifacts from a rich site at Dutch Harbor, Alaska, show at least two styles of Aleut art; the earlier resembles the Dorset culture of the eastern Arctic, providing further evidence of the latter's probable Bering Strait, or even Siberian, origin.

RANSOM, JAY ELLIS. *Aleut religious beliefs: Veniaminov's account* (Journal of American folklore, LVIII (230), Oct.-Dec., 1945, 346-9). A description of Aleut religious beliefs translated from a Russian treatise by Veniaminov which was published in 1840.

RAVENHILL, ALICE. *A corner stone of Canadian culture: An outline of the arts and crafts of the Indian tribes of British Columbia*. (Occasional papers of the British Columbia Provincial Museum, 5.) Victoria: King's Printer. 1944. Pp. vi, 104 (multi-graphed). Reviewed in C.H.R., XXVI (2), June, 1945, 203.

RAY, VERNE F. *The contrary behavior pattern in American Indian ceremonialism* (Southwestern journal of anthropology, I (1), spring, 1945, 75-113). In this scholarly study of the distribution and probable origin of various types of clowning, buffoonery, and peculiar behaviour practised in the rituals of various Indian groups, the author notes the occurrence of one form among Algonkian tribes of Ontario.

REEVES, R. G. *Chromosome knobs in relation to the origin of maize* (Genetics, XXIX (2), March, 1944, 141-7). A genetic study of the types of chromosome found in maize supports the thesis that the plant was first cultivated in South America.

RITCHIE, WILLIAM A. *Ritchie to Johnson* (American anthropologist, XLVII (2), April-June, 1945, 325-6). A critical and spirited rebuttal of points brought out in a review by Johnson of a volume by Ritchie (cited in this bibliography, C.H.R., XXVI (1), 98); the author's comments raise questions of methodology in the archaeology of north-eastern America.

RITZENTHALER, ROBERT. *The acquisition of surnames by the Chippewa Indians* (American anthropologist, XLVII (1), Jan.-March, 1945, 175-7). European surnames were obtained by the Ojibwa of Wisconsin in a variety of ways.

— *The ceremonial destruction of sickness by the Wisconsin Chippewa* (American anthropologist, XLVII (2), April-June, 1945, 320-2). Sympathetic magic has recently been practised publicly by the Ojibwa of Wisconsin as a means of counteracting malaria among American troops in the south Pacific.

— *Totemic insult among the Wisconsin Chippewa* (American anthropologist, XLVII (2), April-June, 1945, 322-4). A description of methods employed by the Ojibwa of Wisconsin to punish, or shame, those who had insulted a clan totem, with comparative notes on similar practices among the Ojibwa of Ontario.

RIVERS-ANDERSON, C. *Eskimos and Red Indians, some of whom are in the armed forces sent over by Canada* (Man, XLV (19-36), March-April, 1945, 47). A note on the population figures and administration of Eskimo and Indians in Canada.

- ROBERTS, FRANK H. H. *The new world paleo-Indian* (Annual report of the Smithsonian Institution for 1944, 403-33, Washington, Smithsonian Institution, 1945). A slightly revised reprint of an important article on early types of man in the New World which appeared originally in *Acta Americana* and was noted in this bibliography, C.H.R. March, 1945, p. 99.
- ROBINSON, J. LEWIS. *Conquest of the northwest passage by R.C.M.P. Schooner St. Roch* (Canadian geographical journal, XXX (2), Feb., 1945, 52-74). A well illustrated and interesting description of the voyage of the *St. Roch* from Vancouver to Halifax in 1940-2, the first time that the North-West Passage had been traversed from west to east. Photographs and comments on the Eskimo are included.
- ROBINSON, PERCY J. *Some of Cartier's place-names 1535-1536* (C.H.R. XXVI (4), Dec., 1945, 401-5). A study of the etymology and meaning of a number of Indian place-names recorded by Cartier in the vicinity of Quebec.
- ROE, F. G. *White buffalo* (Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, XXXVIII, sec. II, 1944, 155-73). Albino buffaloes are known to have occurred rarely on the western plains. The skins of these white animals were highly valued by different tribes.
- ROJAS, ALFONSO VILLA. *La civilización y el Indio* (América indígena, V (1), Enero, 1945, 67-72). Cultural adjustments are constantly taking place among the Indians of the Americas and direct leadership by governments, and by science, is desirable.
- SALZ, BEATE. *Some considerations on Mr. Collier's article* (América indígena, V (3), Julio, 1945, 247-54). A commentary on the question of Indian rights and racism, raised in an article by John Collier, cited on p. 90.
- SHAPIRO, HARRY L. *There's no place like home* (Natural history, LIV (1), Jan., 1945, 24-38). An attractively illustrated article on native houses, including descriptions of types used in various parts of Canada.
- SIEGEL, BERNARD J. *Some methodological considerations for a comparative study of slavery* (American anthropologist, XLVII (3), July-Sept., 1945, 357-92). In this scholarly study of the practice of slavery, the author analyses its role among the coastal Indians of British Columbia.
- SPECK, FRANK G. *Abenaki text* (International journal of American linguistics, XI (1), Jan., 1945, 45-6). A short text, with translation, recorded from a St. Francis Abenaki Indian, Quebec.
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- The Iroquois, a study in cultural evolution.* (Cranbrook Institute of Science, bulletin 23.) Bloomfield Hills, Michigan: Cranbrook Press. 1945. Pp. 94. An authoritative and well written description of the Iroquois, including both their culture and history, as deduced from a variety of sources. The illustrations, from the Cranbrook Institute of Science, are well chosen. This volume and *Iroquois crafts* by Lyford (cited above), give a very satisfactory picture of Iroquois life.
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- The Iroquois—the historical versus the ethnological view* (Cranbrook Institute of Science news letter, XV (3), Nov., 1945, 33-6). The common belief that the Iroquois were brutal warriors whose whole life was spent in attacks on peaceful neighbours is one which has been widely circulated, but gives a distorted picture of their culture and their role in history.
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- and DODGE, ERNEST S. *Amphibian and reptile lore of the Six Nations Cayuga* (Journal of American folklore, LVIII (230), Oct.-Dec., 1945, 306-9). A note on the knowledge of amphibians and reptiles possessed by the Cayuga of the Grand River, Ontario.
- STEFANSSON, EVELYN. *Within the circle*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1944. Included in this general volume on the Arctic are various facts concerning the Eskimo.

- STEWART, JULIAN H. *The changing American Indian (The science of man in the world crisis)*, LINTON, RALPH, Ed., New York, Columbia University Press, 1945, 282-305.) An appraisal of current Indian problems, including cultural change, government and racial attitudes, population growth, and economic conditions.
- STIRLING, MATTHEW W. *Indians of our north Pacific coast* (National geographic magazine, LXXXVII (1), Jan., 1945, 25-32 and 49-52). An authoritative but popularly written description of the Indians of the north-west coast.
- STRONG, WM. DUNCAN. *The occurrence and wider implications of a "ghost cult" on the Columbia River suggested by carvings in wood, bone and stone* (American anthropologist, XLVII (2), April-June, 1945, 244-61). Little known carvings and sculpture from the Columbia valley show resemblances to art forms of the Indians of British Columbia, and may perhaps be associated with a Ghost Cult.
- TAYLOR, GRIFFITH. *Arctic survey. III. A Mackenzie domesday: 1944* (C.J.E.P.S., XI (2), May, 1945, 189-233). Among the facts placed on record in this survey of the pattern of settlement in the Mackenzie valley are observations on where and in what style of houses Indian and Eskimo families are living.
- THALBITZER, WILLIAM. *Is Eskimo a primitive language?* (Actes du quatrième congrès international de linguistes, Copenhagen, 1938, 254-62). The Eskimo language comprises a distinctive stock, to which Aleut is related; in no sense of the word can it be described as "simple."
- UNDERHILL, RUTH. *Indians of the Pacific northwest*. (Indian life and customs, 5.) Washington: Education Division of the United States Office of Indian Affairs. 1945. Pp. 232. This is one of the most stimulating and attractive books that I have read for a long time, and it is one that I shall recommend to my students with enthusiasm. It belongs to a series prepared by the United States Indian Service primarily for use in their schools, but designed to meet the wider need of simple, informative, and accurate descriptions of Indians and their life in different parts of the United States. Miss Underhill's theme is the Indians of Oregon and Washington, but she points out that they are a part of the wider north-west coast area; in fact, with minor modifications, all that she writes is characteristic of British Columbian coastal tribes. The author is to be congratulated on giving adequate description without unnecessary detail; on presenting, without indulging in maudlin heroics, the skill and courage required, for example, in harpooning whales from a canoe with a shell-tipped harpoon; in showing the skill necessary in native craftsmanship; in stressing the dependence of the Indians on supernatural aid; and, perhaps most of all, in portraying the cataclysmic change from the rich hunting and fishing life of a century ago to the reservation existence of today, again, with understanding and sympathy, but without false sentiment. Miss Underhill's style is simple and direct, holding the reader's interest throughout. The illustrations (which include, by the way, thirteen of the Paul Kane paintings in the Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology, Toronto) are numerous and well-chosen, and the large line drawings of fish-traps, houses and manufacturing processes are better than I have seen in most technical publications. The paper and printing are worthy of the text; in brief, this is a most satisfactory book in every respect.
- United States Office of Indian Affairs, Education Division. *Indians yesterday and today*. (Information Pamphlet, 1.) Washington: Office of Indian Affairs. 1941. Pp. 74. (15c.) The basis of this volume is a series of radio broadcasts prepared by the United States Office of Indian Affairs to supply factual matter in an interesting manner for use in schools. The introductory chapters fulfil this purpose almost perfectly; they serve as a model of well-selected material on Indian history and background, the kind of information that every high school student should know. The later chapters deal with specific American problems of economics and administration.
- VICKERS, CHRIS. *Archaeology in the Rock and Pelican Lake area of south-central Manitoba*. (American antiquity, XI (2), Oct., 1945, 88-94). Excavation of a number of sites indicates a series of different cultures. Little archaeological work has been done

in this region and it is to be hoped that more extensive excavations can be accomplished.

VICKERS, CHRIS. *Archaeology in the Rock and Pelican Lake area of southern Manitoba* (Papers read before the Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba, 1944-45, Winnipeg, 1945, 14-24). A presentation of the same material.

VOEGELIN, C. F. *Relative chronology of North American linguistic types* (American anthropologist, XLVII (2), April-June, 1945, 232-4). An appraisal of the possibilities and difficulties of using linguistic differentiation as a criterion of relative age.

— and HARRIS, Z. S. *Index to the Franz Boas collection of materials for American linguistics*. Supplement to Language, XXI (3), July-Sept., 1945. (Language monograph, 22.) Baltimore, Maryland: Linguistic Society of America. Pp. 43. In 1927 the late Professor Franz Boas became chairman of a Committee of the American Council of Learned Societies to sponsor the study of American Indian languages and to publish the results of investigations in this field. Between 1927 and 1937 some \$200,000 was expended, much of it on field work. Many manuscripts were published and many more were submitted to Professor Boas who, as a pioneer in American linguistics already was the custodian of other manuscripts in all stages of preparation from handwritten field notes to scholarly comparative studies. These 380 manuscripts have been donated to the library of the American Philosophical Society where they have been catalogued and are available to students. The present paper is a valuable record of this collection; each item is described according to tribe, author, size, and relevant facts as to content.

WALKER, EDWIN F. *America's Indian background* (Masterkey, XIX (1, 3, 4), Jan., May, July, 1945, 7-13, 83-8, 119-25). A non-technical description of the Indians of America and the varying forms of native culture in the New World.

— *World crops derived from the Indians*. (Southwest Museum leaflets, 17.) Los Angeles. 1943. Pp. 16.

WALLACE, PAUL A. W. *Conrad Weiser*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1945. Pp. 648. To be reviewed later.

WHERRETT, G. J. *Arctic Survey. I. Survey of health conditions and medical and hospital services in the North West Territories* (C.J.E.P.S., XI (1), Feb., 1945, 49-60). A thoughtful appraisal of medical services in the Mackenzie valley, with special reference to Indians and Eskimo.

WISSLER, CLARK. *Corn and early American civilization* (Natural history, LIV (2), Feb., 1945, 56-65). An interesting and well illustrated description of the probable origin of corn, with a brilliant comparison of the resemblances and differences between the essential traits of Old and New World civilizations, especially in the field of agriculture.

WORMINGTON, H. M. *Ancient man in North America*. (Colorado Museum of Natural History, popular series, 4.) Denver: Colorado Museum of Natural History. 1944. Pp. 89. A popular, illustrated description of the discoveries of early man in America.

NOTES AND COMMENTS

THE METEOROLOGIST AND LOCAL HISTORY

The following letter from Mr. Andrew Thomson, assistant controller of the Meteorological Service of Canada, was a part of the supporting material for the brief of the Ontario Historical Society which was presented recently to the Ontario Royal Commission on Education, and to which reference is made in our notes on historical societies printed below, page 107. Local historical records are frequently thought of as having a purely antiquarian interest. Mr. Thomson's letter provides such an excellent illustration of the fallacy of this view, that we felt it should be brought to the attention of the REVIEW's readers.

It would be very helpful to those concerned in Meteorology, Hydrology and in the general conservation of our natural resources to have some central organization in the Province of Ontario which would collect the early pioneer records and preserve them for easy reference and study. This may not be immediately apparent but a consideration of the following facts will make clear the direct and immediate value of an historical centre at Toronto.

From 1840 to the present time, there has been kept an uninterrupted weather record in Toronto, giving daily rainfall, temperature, wind velocity and other elements of climate. Although Dr. Ryerson made heroic efforts to get weather records taken at provincial grammar schools in 1854, the results secured were meagre. It was not until the seventies that, outside of Toronto, any reliable official records of past weather in this province were kept. All information must be secured from letters and diaries and other accounts of pioneers to piece together a record of the weather which has occurred in this area since the arrival of the white man. This information is urgently and frequently required to answer in one form or another the general question "Has our Climate Changed?"

Although the removal of the forests has not probably affected the actual rain and snowfall at any place the character of the run-off into streams and lakes has been changed greatly since the forests have been cut down. This has affected living conditions enormously in this province. Sometimes these changes have been good but as often as not they have been to our disadvantage. For example, soil erosion is a serious problem in many communities. Old pioneer records might show when it began and make clear how extensive the damage has already been. Connected with erosion is the changed size of our rivers and streams since the early days. It is very desirable to know how extensive spring flooding has been at the time of ice break-up. In planning for dams and hydro development the knowledge of the highest water levels reached in spring freshets and flash floods is of great importance. Much more intensive collection of our early records must be made than has hitherto been accomplished if we are to know the relation that exists between our weather, our forests, and the size of our lakes and rivers.

It would be highly desirable to know the years of local extremes of weather since settlement occurred in Upper Canada. There are probably many records of unusually wet or dry years, of severe or mild winters and of extremely hot or cool summers which have been recorded in order to describe personal hardships which have resulted. These incidental weather records from various localities are important from a climatological point of view. Conditions prevailing along Lake Huron may be quite different from those prevailing in Kingston and Eastern Ontario, so that the records should be obtained from as many settlements as possible.

As an example of our incomplete knowledge, there is actually very little known of the state of affairs prevailing during the summer of 1816 which has been referred to as "the year without a summer." Although it was entirely a popular fallacy, there was a widely disseminated statement that the conditions prevailing in 1816 would be repeated a century later in 1916. It was found very difficult to obtain a clear picture of actual conditions prevailing in various settlements in the province in the year 1816.

Tornadoes are fortunately of rare occurrence in this province but complete records of the occurrence of high winds, squalls and other phenomena where storm damage occurs are of value to builders and insurance companies as well. Hail storms and thunder storms over land, and severe gales particularly on the Great Lakes have been very poorly reported even after official stations have been set up. Records of these occurrences as given in pioneer accounts would be of definite value.

Altogether our knowledge of the variation in weather in this province is very meagre prior to 1870 and much progress could be made from a study of the early records of the various settlements which were in existence prior to that time.

CANADIAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION MEETING

The annual meeting of the Canadian Historical Association is to be held this year in the University of Toronto on Thursday and Friday, May 23 and 24. Members from outside points will be accommodated in Whitney Hall, the women's residence of University college. The rate for rooms is \$2.00 per night. Members who wish to reserve accommodation should write to the Secretary, Department of History, University of Toronto, specifying the dates on which they will be in attendance. As meetings of the Royal Society, the Canadian Universities Conference, and the Canadian Institute of International Affairs are being held just before or just after the Historical Association meetings, and the Canadian Political Science Association is holding its sessions on the same days as the Historical Association, early reservation of rooms is desirable.

INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL

The first number of *International Journal*, a quarterly published by the Canadian Institute of International Affairs, was issued in January under the editorship of Dr. C. C. Lingard. The journal is concerned not only with Canada's external relations but also with the broad field of international problems, and in particular with the expression of Canadian points of view on these questions. The first number contains a well selected list of articles, a book review section, and a bibliography of recent publications both official and unofficial.

MEETING OF THE AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR STATE AND LOCAL HISTORY

The fifth annual meeting of the American Association for State and Local History took place at Indianapolis on November 7-8, 1945. The programme began with a joint session with the Society of American Archivists on the subject of microphotography. "Local History and the Schools" was the subject of another session, and papers were given outlining what was being done in several states. The presidential address discussing the universality of local history was given by Miss Dorothy C. Barck.

NEW YORK'S INSTITUTE FOR LOCAL HISTORIANS

This Institute, held at Albany on June 25-30 last, was arranged by the State Department of Education and was under the supervision of Dr. Albert B. Corey, State Historian and Director of the Division of Archives and History. Its purpose was to provide a practical training for officially appointed historians in the State, and to suggest a programme which local historians would be encouraged to adapt to the needs of their own communities. Instruction was given to groups of not more than twenty. Six major subjects were covered: Local history, archives and public records, historical objects, the library and the local historian, elementary and secondary education, audio-visual materials. Instruction was given chiefly by members of the Education Department, although some outside specialists were invited to participate. Approximately 125 persons took part, and the number of local historians in attendance was about 15 per cent of the total in the state.

Each of the instructional periods was built around exhibits and discussions. The programmes adapted themselves to the subjects which were under consideration and the materials which were available for display. The exhibit of manuscripts and records in connexion with the session on archives was particularly well done, and those materials were left on view for several weeks afterwards.

SMITH COLLEGE STUDIES IN HISTORY

The Smith College Studies in History completed, at the end of 1945, thirty years of continuous publication. During this period they published fifty-five books and monographs dealing with American social, cultural, and diplomatic history, with the social and economic development of the Connecticut valley, and with English and European history. The aim of the Studies is to afford a medium for publication of works by persons associated with Smith College. Contributors are invited to communicate with Professor Hans Kohn, Smith College, Northampton, Mass.

PAPERS OF THOMAS JEFFERSON

A new and definitive edition of the papers of Thomas Jefferson is now in progress under the editorship of Dr. Julian P. Boyd, librarian of Princeton University, and will be published in some fifty volumes by the Princeton University Press. The advisory committee and the editor hope that any one who privately owns Jefferson documents will make them available, and that the volumes when published will be widely circulated. Subscriptions can be entered now with the director of the Princeton University Press. The edition, which has been made possible by a gift of \$200,000 from the *New York Times*, will take at least fifteen years to complete, even though the resources of photography and other time-saving devices are being fully used. The work will be notable for its size, but we may also be sure that under Dr. Boyd's direction it will be equally notable in setting a very high standard in scholarship and book-making.

ARCHIVES, LIBRARIES, AND MUSEUMS

The Boston Public Library. A recent publication of the trustees of the Library is *The Puritan Family: Essays on Religion and Domestic Relations in Seventeenth-Century New England* by Edmund S. Morgan. It is a portrayal of Puritan domestic life in the seventeenth century based on the Library's Prince Collection, which consists of over two thousand books and manuscripts of New England literature and history.

The Chatham-Kent Museum has published a small booklet by Victor Lauriston which gives a résumé of the long background of the idea for a museum in Chatham and a description of the new Chatham-Kent Museum which was opened on October 4, 1945. The Museum contains two unique exhibits—a collection of the art of the late Emma Milner of Chatham Township who evolved a new method of portraiture by stippling with a pencil point, and a large number of curios gathered by Mr. and Mrs. George W. Sulman from all over the world. A collection of over two hundred native bird specimens, some now extinct, an Indian relics display including the almost complete skeleton of a prehistoric mastodon unearthed in Chatham Township in 1887, Ontario pioneer relics, and a collection of ore minerals and mineral-bearing rocks are some of the other items of interest at present on display.

The Museum is planning a Kent Historical Society Room to contain maps, documents, and books relating to pioneer history especially in Kent, and a collection of books by Kent authors. Plans are also under way for various classes in the city and county schools to use the museum's facilities for their studies. The officers of the Museum Board are: president, Charles A. Glock; vice-president, C. C. Bell; secretary-treasurer, E. M. Milner.

Detroit Public Library. The Library has published a facsimile of the 1796 Detroit printing of an act of the Fourth Congress to regulate trade and intercourse with the Indian tribes and to preserve peace on the frontiers. It was printed by John McCall, the eldest son of a Loyalist family which settled at Long Point, Canada, in 1796, and is the largest surviving piece of work from Detroit's first printing press.

Fort Ticonderoga Museum. The July, 1945 number of the *Bulletin* of the Museum contains an article on "Fort Ticonderoga—A Short History," five letters of General H. Watson Powell to Sir Guy Carleton written during September, 1777, an extract from a letter of Allan MacLean to Sir Guy Carleton, September 30, 1777, and instructions to Captain Samuel Greaves appointed to command all His Majesty's vessels upon Lakes Champlain and George, October 3, 1777.

The Museum has an interesting series of post cards depicting the uniforms and insignia of French regiments stationed at Fort Carillon (Fort Ticonderoga) during 1758.

The Illinois State Historical Library plans to publish this year as volume 33 of its Historical Collections the Library's Black Hawk War papers. This is a large collection of manuscripts in the form of orders, communications, and journals of the participants.

The Maritime Library Association held its eighth annual conference at Halifax on November 7 and 8, 1945. Miss Elisabeth H. Morton, secretary to the Canadian Library Council spoke on the history of the Council and the proposed formation of a Canadian Library Association; Dr. E. A. Corbett, director of the Canadian Association for Adult Education also gave a paper. The new officers are: president, Mrs. M. J. Thompson; secretary-treasurer, Miss Evelyn M. Campbell; editor of the *Bulletin*, Miss Dorothy Cullen.

The William L. Clements Library. Recent acquisitions dealing with the period of discovery and colonization in North American history are Gregor Reisch's *Margarita philosophica* containing a map delineating the American continents and the West Indies; Robert Montgomery's *Discourse concerning the design'd Establishment of a New Colony to the South of Carolina*, London, 1717; James Glen's *Description of South Carolina*, London, 1761; and William Stith's *History . . . of Virginia*, Williamsburg, 1747. New additions to the Library's material on the American Revolution are a rare broadside on how to get New Hampshire AWOL's to Valley Forge, and Henry Dearborn's *Account of the Battle of Bunker Hill*, Philadelphia, 1818.

CANADIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

British Columbia Historical Association: Victoria Section. The new officers of the Society for 1946 are as follows: chairman, Major H. Cuthbert Holmes; vice-chairman, J. A. Heritage; honorary secretary, Mrs. Muriel R. Cree; honorary treasurer, R. H. Hiscocks.

Brome County Historical Society. The officers of the Society are: honorary presidents, Z. E. Martin and James Wilson; president, Homer A. Mitchell; secretary-treasurer, Harry B. Shufelt.

The Canadian Catholic Historical Association has issued its report for 1943-4. The papers in this report are listed in the List of Recent Publications relating to Canada, page 80. President, J. A. Gallagher; secretary, James F. Kenney; treasurer, Walter C. Cain.

The Champlain Society has published the final volume of the *Letters of John McLoughlin from Fort Vancouver to the Governor and Committee, Third series, 1844-46*, edited by E. E. Rich with an introduction by W. Kaye Lamb. This is volume VII in the "Hudson's Bay Company" series of the Society's publications. A volume of Loyalist narratives edited by Dr. J. J. Talman of the University of Western Ontario will be published in the near future. President, W. Stewart Wallace; secretaries, George W. Brown, Harold C. Walker; treasurer, H. H. Langton; assistant secretary-treasurer, Julia Jarvis.

The Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba has published the papers read before it during 1944-5 in a booklet edited by Clifford Wilson. They were "The Grey Nuns travel West" by Sister Mary Murphy; "Archaeology in the Rock and Pelican Lake Area of Southern Manitoba" by Chris. Vickers; "Early Icelandic Settlement in Canada" by S. J. Somerville; "Church History Resources of Manitoba" by G. B. King; "The Forks' becomes a City" by William Douglas. President, Mrs. R. F. McWilliams; secretary, W. L. Morton; treasurer, J. E. Ridd.

The Lundy's Lane Historical Society reports a very successful year. Regular meetings have been held, and most of the papers given have been compiled and read by members. The Society's greatest need is some means of preserving in permanent form the best of these papers on local history.

The Macnab Historical Association. Mrs. Violet Box has recently given to the Association relics belonging to Chief MacNab which have been in her possession for over ninety years. They will eventually be turned over to a public archive. President, William Macnab; secretary, Hilda M. Ridley.

The Okanagan Historical Society has published its eleventh report for 1945, a 114-page volume containing a variety of interesting information on local history and including articles on "Lord Dufferin's Visit to British Columbia" by L. Norris, "The Quarrel between the Governor General and the Prime Minister, 1876" by Margaret A. Ormsby, and "Canada's Future" by L. Norris. President, J. B. Weeks; secretary, Rev. J. C. Goodfellow; treasurer, H. R. Dennison.

The Ontario Historical Society. On December 5 the society presented to the Royal Commission on Education appointed by the Ontario government a brief urging the creation of an historical centre, and the appointment of a director whose duty it would be to promote in every possible way an interest in provincial and local history throughout the province. Details of arrangements were not outlined in the brief, but it was urged that the centre should include an historical museum which would be of interest to the public as well as to students; that it should provide facilities for research; that it should have a staff which could keep in touch with local historical societies, libraries, schools, government departments, and other agencies interested in provincial and local history; and that it should house the provincial archives, assist in the collection of materials, and otherwise contribute to the growth of the archives. Under the direction of Miss McClung, the provincial archivist, the Archives have shown an encouraging development in recent years but are very badly handicapped by lack of space and adequate facilities. The brief was well received by the commission and has obtained the support of a wide variety of organizations and interested individuals. The fact that Ontario is greatly in need of such a centre is emphasized by the comparison with what is being done in neighbouring provinces and states. There is a growing and widespread interest in historical matters in the province, but at present the lack of systematic encouragement from a centre of the kind requested is keenly felt. It is hoped that an adequate policy will be put into effect by the provincial government in the near future.

The latest issue of the *News Letter* published by the Ontario Historical Society contains information with regard to the contents of the Society's brief. Inquiries with regard to the *News Letter* should be sent to the secretary of the Society, Dr. J. J. Talman, The University of Western Ontario, London, Ontario.

The Queen's County Historical Society maintains a museum in the Perkins house in Liverpool, Nova Scotia. Among recent acquisitions is a wooden bust of Samuel Kempton, sea captain, probably the last surviving piece of work of George Crouse whose figureheads were carried by many square-riggers built around Liverpool Bay from 1850-66.

A description of the coat of arms of Liverpool adopted by the New England founders of the town on July 8, 1760 has recently been discovered in old records, and been re-adopted by the town. It is probably the oldest town crest in Canada.

Among the projects in which the Society is now engaged is a history of Tarleton's Legion, an outstanding Loyalist corps in Cornwallis's army, and composed largely of Carolinians who settled in the Queen's County district of Nova Scotia after the American Revolution. President, J. H. Raddall; secretary-treasurer, Anne Hendry.

La Société d'Histoire Régionale de Saint-Hyacinthe. The last publication of the Society was document number 18, *Le Culte du précieux-sang au Diocèse de Saint Hyacinthe*, a 256-page volume. President, J. B. O. Archambault; secretary, J. P. Morin; secretary-treasurer, F. X. Côté.

Le Société Historique de Montréal. The following are some of the many interesting papers that were read before the Society during 1944 and 1945: "Méthodes historiques" by Jean-Marie Nadeau; "1524, et non 1534, date du premier voyage de Cartier au Canada" by Gustave Lanctot; "Le fonds Verreau" by l'Abbé Arthur Maheux; "Riel était fou" by Dr. Gabriel Nadeau; "Faux-sauniers et fils de famille en Nouvelle-France au XVIIIe siècle" by Gérard Malchelosse; "Du tam-tam à l'orchestre symphonique" by Antonine Bernier; "Pages inédites de la petite histoire (la famille Auclair)" by l'Abbé Elie-J. Auclair; "Montréal au temps des crinolines (1860)" by l'Abbé Armand Yon; "Normandie et Poitou, provinces-mères du Canada français" by René Caillaud; "L'abbé Proulx, sa vie, son oeuvre, 1846-1904" by Jacques Mathieu; "Introduction à la bibliographie canadienne" by Juliette Chabot; "Le vieux Montréal de Delfosse" by Joseph Jutras; "Les origines montréalaises de Ste-Thérèse de Blainville" by l'Abbé Philippe Labelle; "Pamphile Le May, bibliothécaire et poète" by Cécile Saint-Jorre; "Le sénateur F.-X.-A. Trudel, 1838-1890" by André Nadeau. President, Mgr Olivier Maurault; treasurer, Gérard Malchelosse; secretary, Jean-Jacques Lefebvre, St-Sulpice Library, Montreal.

La Société Historique de Saint-Boniface sponsored in 1945 the centennial celebration of the arrival in the Red River district of Archbishop Taché and the Oblate Fathers. A cairn with bronze plaque was unveiled.

The Society has re-edited the biography of Marie-Anne Gaboury by the Abbé Dugas entitled the *First Canadian Woman in the Northwest*. It was published in 1902 and has long been out of print. The museum of the Society has received many additions during the past year and has had a large number of visitors. President, Rev. A. d'Eschambault; secretary, Lucien Paquin; treasurer, Rev. L. Primeau.

The Upper Canada Railway Society has accumulated a large collection of railroadiana which at present is housed in the residence of C. L. Terroux, St. Lambert, Quebec until a permanent abode is acquired. Total membership of the Society is now nearly seventy, and, with the war over, it looks forward to a promising future. President, Albert S. Oliver; secretary, William T. Sharp.

The Washington State Historical Society will observe during 1946 the centennial of the settlement of the boundary dispute between United States and Canada.

One of the most valuable collections of manuscript source material in the Society's library is the journals and letters of Edward Huggins from 1870 to 1905. Of exceptional interest is a section in the journals containing the cash account records of the Hudson's Bay Company and Puget's Sound Agricultural Company from December, 1866 to May, 1870. The letters contain personal impressions of Hudson's Bay Company personnel and material not found elsewhere, on the activities of the Company.

The Waterloo Historical Society plans to publish its thirty-third annual report about March, 1946. President, G. V. Hilborn; secretary, P. Fisher.

